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HEAD OF TUTANKHAMŪN IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

THE JOURNAL OF Egyptian Archaeology

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE principal event of the past year, in so far as the Egypt Exploration Society is concerned, has been the publication of the long-awaited third part of *The City of Akhenaten*. The delay in the production of this important excavation memoir has been caused by circumstances entirely beyond the Society's control, namely the outbreak of war, the death at the hands of the enemy of the Field Director of the excavations, Capt. J. D. S. Pendlebury, the complications involved in working up the manuscripts and notes for the text so long after the event, and finally the difficulties and delays of post-war printing. But now at last the work has been done, and we must congratulate both the editor of the new part, Professor H. W. Fairman, and the Oxford University Press on the excellent result which has attended their labours. Part III appears in two volumes, one of text and the other of plates, and the price of the publication is £9. 15s. (price to members of the Society £8).

It is also gratifying to announce that the Graeco-Roman Branch has just published its twenty-eighth memoir under the title *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, Part I, by Mr. C. H. Roberts, at the price of 25s. (members 20s.). Thus both sides of the Society's activities are represented by works published since the last volume of the *Journal* appeared, and a real step forward has been taken towards clearing up the arrears left by the war. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vols. xx and xxi, are also well on the way.

The Society's field-work in Egypt during last season consisted of an expedition to Saqqārah to carry out epigraphic work in that region. It was originally intended that Professor A. M. Blackman should go out as Director, with Mr. M. R. Apted as his assistant, but owing to ill health Professor Blackman was unable to leave England, so that the staff of the expedition eventually consisted of Mr. Apted and Mr. T. G. H. James. They arrived at Saqqārah on 2 March 1951 and worked there until 9 May. In that period of a little over two months they succeeded, thanks to the very ready co-operation of the Director of the Service des Antiquités, Dr. Drioton, and of the members of his staff, and to the loan to the expedition of three skilled draughtsmen belonging to the Service, in recording the whole of the tomb of one Khentika Ikhekhi, an official who flourished during the earlier part of the Sixth Dynasty, and it is hoped that their copies will be published early in 1952. The most interesting feature of this tomb is a scene depicting its owner painting a symbolic picture of the three Egyptian seasons of the year. Mr. James has now been appointed Assistant Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, under our Hon. Treasurer Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, and we wish him every success in his new post.

The Chair of Egyptology at Oxford, left vacant by the lamented death of Professor Battiscombe Gunn, is to be occupied by Professor Jaroslav Černý, Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College, London. We congratulate him, not only on his appointment, but also on his recovery from the long and trying illness which has

interrupted his work for a considerable period and on his recent marriage. We wish him all good fortune. He will be succeeded at London by Professor W. B. Emery.

During the past year there has been the usual melancholy tale of losses among Egyptological friends and colleagues. A veteran supporter of the Society, Mr. G. D. Hornblower, died in May last at the age of 86. He became a member of the Society in 1921, and for many years from 1922 served on the Committee. He was very interested in the anthropology and religion of Ancient Egypt, and contributed many articles on these topics to the periodical *Man* published by the Royal Anthropological Society as well as to this *Journal*. Not very long before his death he presented the Society with a Presidential chair copied from an Ancient Egyptian original, and also a number of books from his library. Another member of over thirty years' standing who has recently passed away is the late Professor R. A. S. Macalister, who was eminent in both Celtic and Palestinian archaeology, and who was Professor of Celtic Archaeology at University College, Dublin, from 1909 to 1943. He excavated extensively in Palestine, at first with F. J. Bliss and later by himself, and the resulting publications were notable contributions to Palestinian archaeology. Since we last wrote this Foreword we have also had news of the deaths of Professor A. Scharff of Munich and of Dr. B. Grdseloff of Cairo. Among the extensive writings of the former we must mention his *Archäologische Ergebnisse des Gräberfeldes von Abusir el-Meleq* (in collaboration with G. Möller), an important contribution to our knowledge of pre-historic Egypt, his *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte* (*Morgenland*, Heft 12, 1927), and *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê* (*Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* 1936). The death of Grdseloff at the early age of thirty-five after a long and painful illness has deprived Egyptology of the services of a scholar who, if he had lived longer, would surely have made his mark in the realm of Egyptian and Egypto-Semitic philology. Members will also learn with regret of the death of Miss Mary C. Jonas, who for twenty years until her retirement in 1939 served them so well as Secretary of the Society.

It is not the custom of this *Journal* to reprint articles which have already been published elsewhere, but in the present volume an exception has been made. The late Professor Griffith's article on the decipherment of the hieroglyphs, published in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 2 February 1922 to mark the centenary of Champollion's historic achievement, is not well known or readily accessible to students today, nearly thirty years later. In view of the admirable account it provides of the birth of Egyptology, the welcome suggestion was made to us that this article might be reproduced in the *Journal*, and therefore, with the kind permission of *The Times Literary Supplement*, we present it afresh to the attention of scholars and students.

Since the above was written we have learned of the passing of the veteran Coptic scholar, Professor G. Steindorff, and of Dr. J. G. Milne, the great numismatist, whose last article is printed below, and who was at one time Hon. Treasurer of the Society. It is hoped to include an obituary of Dr. Milne in our next volume.

A HEAD OF TUT'ANKHAMŪN

By AMBROSE LANSING

'THE fame of El-'Amārnah consists solely in its memories of that day when the solitary plain became a chance bivouac in the march of history, filled for a moment with all the movement and colour of intense life, and then abandoned to a deeper silence, when the camp was hurriedly struck and the course of Egyptian history relapsed again into more wonted highways.'

It is doubtful whether the writer of this vivid epitome anticipated the importance which would attach itself to this uncertain step in 'the march of history' during the next fifty years. Norman de Garis Davies was then in the midst of his task of copying the decorations in the tombs of Akhenaten's officials. A decade before, Sir Flinders Petrie had brought to light much of the royal city's remains, but the extraordinary quality of the sculptures of the 'Amārnah school remained to be fully revealed in subsequent excavations and popular interest had yet to be aroused by the discovery of the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn. Thus an episode which later Egyptians did their best to forget has now become the most remembered quarter-century in Egyptian history.

This is not the place to discuss the motives which led Akhenaten to break with Thebes or the means by which Tut'ankhamūn was persuaded to return to the traditional gods. Enthusiastic amateur and more sober archaeologist will debate the subject for the next half century and longer, and every new item added to the evidence will play its part in the consideration of the various aspects of the problem, whether political, religious, or artistic.

A recent acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art touches in some degree on all three of these questions. For many years in a private collection, that of Mr. D. K. Kelekian, it has been seen by few persons and has, I believe, never been published. It is the portrait head of a king wearing the blue crown, excellently preserved except for the nose which is broken away and the uraeus whose hood and head are missing. Behind the head is a deep support at the bottom of which the ribbons attached to the crown are represented in low relief. On this support rests the right hand of a larger figure, the fingers extending upward at a slight angle, their tips touching the rear edge of the crown. The scale of the head is about one-half life-size and contrasts with that of the hand which is almost fully life-size. Thus the composition consisted originally of a small figure of the king standing in front of a much larger figure, presumably that of a god.

The material is the compact white limestone called variously hard or indurated limestone or Egyptian marble. It is of superior quality, almost entirely free from the flaws which are so often characteristic of this stone. The provenance of the statue is not known, nor is there any inscription which might provide a clue to the identity of the subject. Nevertheless, it is possible to make the identification with fair assurance.

The style of the sculpture immediately suggests the 'Amārnah school, and particularly that phase of it in which rather blatant realism is rejected in favour of a more idealistic type of representation.

Roundness of face and youthfulness of feature are very striking, and a comparison with the many representations of Tut'ankhamūn leave very little doubt that in this piece of sculpture we have an additional portrait of that king.

The identification is made practically certain by the large-scale hand which we must regard as that of a god in the act of placing the crown upon the head of the king. Since the stone from which the group is carved was a favourite material for sculpture at El-'Amārnah, it might be argued that the larger figure may have represented Akhenaten in the act of installing his son-in-law as co-regent; but there is no evidence to support the theory that he had arrogated to himself the divine function of coronation.

We are on much firmer ground if we regard the hand as that of the god Amen-Rē to whose overlordship Tut'ankhamūn restored the kingdom of Egypt. Normally Atum would have performed the act of coronation, but it is probable that sufficient rancour remained between Thebes and Heliopolis for the priesthood of Amen-Rē to usurp that traditional office for its own version of the 'King of the Gods'.

As has already been noted, the sculpture is distinctly in the 'Amārnah style. Were it not for the hand of the god there would be every reason to suppose that it had been carved while the young king was still at El-'Amārnah. But when we consider the composition as a whole we are forced to the conclusion that it must be a work dating from a time very shortly after the restoration, for the most important ceremony on that occasion must have been the formal recognition by the god Amen-Rē, of Tut'ankhamūn as king. If this is a valid conclusion it follows that the artists who had been so active in the years at El-'Amārnah continued in official employment when king and court returned to Thebes.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT 'AMĀRAH WEST, 1948-49 AND 1949-50

By P. L. SHINNIE

WORK was continued during the winters of 1948-9 and 1949-50 at 'Amārah by a joint expedition of the Society and the Sudan Antiquities Service. The expedition was composed in 1948-9 of Mr. P. G. Fell, Mr. M. R. Apted, Abdelrahman Eff. Adam, Mrs. Shinnie, and myself. We also had the help for short periods of Thabit Eff. Hassan and Mr. and Mrs. J. Alexander. In 1949-50 the work was carried out by Abdelrahman Eff. Adam and myself. It was a matter for great regret that, owing to the responsibilities of his post at Liverpool, Professor Fairman was not able to lead the expedition again. The main expenses of the work were borne by the Society but the Griffith Institute made a generous contribution to the 1949-50 season.

Our thanks are due to many officials of the Sudan Government and in particular to Mr. E. D. Penn, District Commissioner, Wādi Ḥalfa, Izz ed Din Eff. Mukhtar, Assistant District Commissioner, Mr. Cooper the Dockyard Manager, who by making a rowing-boat available saved us many hours, and Dr. Mohammed Ahmed who looked after those of our men who were detained in quarantine.

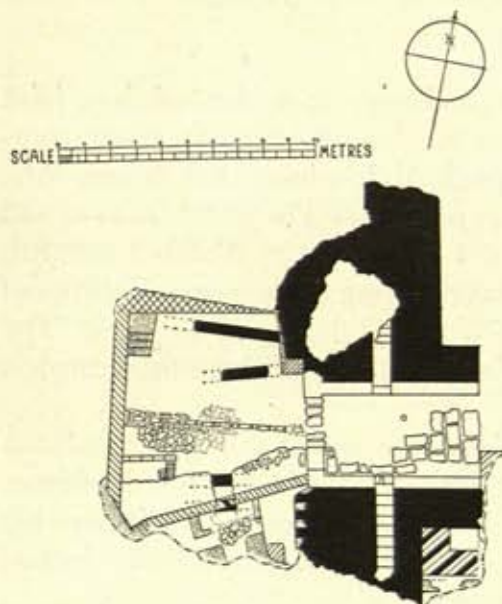
The work of the first season was divided fairly equally between the town and the large mound which lay up against the main town wall to the east. Within the town, work was concentrated on finishing off some of the area left unexcavated the previous season in squares E.12 and E.13. In this area work was carried on in building E.12.6 to the north as far as the town wall, so as to complete that corner of the town and in E.13.2 digging was continued to the east so as to reach the outer limit of the Governor's Palace and complete its plan. A small amount of work was also undertaken in the main gateway.

Before the full labour force had been recruited, a small mound (known as mound α) out in the wādi to the north of the town was excavated. It was confidently expected that this would prove to be a burial mound of some date later than the occupation of the town. These expectations were not fulfilled and it was soon found to be a purely natural formation consisting of alternate layers of Nile silt and sand; fourteen such layers were found before work was stopped. This discovery is of considerable interest; the mound had clearly been formed by the action of the annual Nile flood, each level of silt representing the deposit of one annual flood. It can only be explained as having been a small island when the present dry wādi was a branch of the Nile, and therefore provides a clear proof of Fairman's suggestion that the town of 'Amārah stood on an island. The discovery of New Kingdom sherds in one of the upper levels suggests that the drying up of this branch may be roughly contemporary with the evacuation of the town.

In the area of the main gateway the stone paving discovered in the previous season was lifted and the main drainage system of the gateway exposed (pl. II, 1 and fig. 1). It ran from the gateway across the courtyard in front of it and under the wall which bounded it to the west. Excavation was not continued west of this wall. The drain itself appears to have been later in construction than the gateway. The two little blocked doorways on either side of the gateway were opened and behind each of them was found, as was expected, a staircase leading up to what must have been guardrooms on top of the wall

at either side of the gateway. Unfortunately these rooms had been so ruined by *maroq* diggers as to make any plan impossible.

In the area of building E.12.6, where the whole north-east corner was cleared, a series of rooms was found (see plan) forming two separate buildings of Level III overlying walls of Level IV. The Level III rooms call for no particular comment, being ordinary domestic buildings related to those found in the previous season (pl. II, 2). The Level IV walls below them, however, seem to indicate a building of an unfamiliar type—they consist of a series of massive, parallel walls which clearly formed part of a large building, a considerable part of which lies under the unexcavated area to the east. No guess can be hazarded as to the nature of this building until further excavation has been carried out.



WEST GATE - AMARAH

FIG. 1.

The remainder of the work in the town was concentrated on finding the eastern limit of building E.13.2, the 'Governor's Palace', and completing the plan of this part of the town. The east outer wall of the Palace as it existed in Level IV was established, though the whole area between the end of the previous season's excavations and the eastern outer wall had been so destroyed by *maroq* diggers that no remains of internal rooms now exist. No trace was found of an entrance in the east side at this level. Beyond the east wall was an open space, its eastern limit being as yet undiscovered, but at a later period (Level II) it was narrowed down to make a street (pl. II, 3) by the building of a wall along the east side. This wall rests on a layer of about 50 cm. of *radim* going right down to *gebel*. This feature of Level II walls resting on a thick *radim* deposit is characteristic of the area, for example in the south wall of room Zd there are 52 cm. of *radim* between the walls of Level IV and Level II. This may imply a temporary abandonment of the area at the end of period IV.

The enormous amount of destruction by *maroq* diggers, who not infrequently went down to *gebel* and caused enormous damage throughout the whole area, makes it unprofitable, and virtually impossible, to describe in detail subsequent building developments within the palace.

In the area to the north of the palace, buildings AA, Y, and Z on the plan, the



1. Main gateway and drain



2. Building E.12.6



3. Street east of building E.13.2

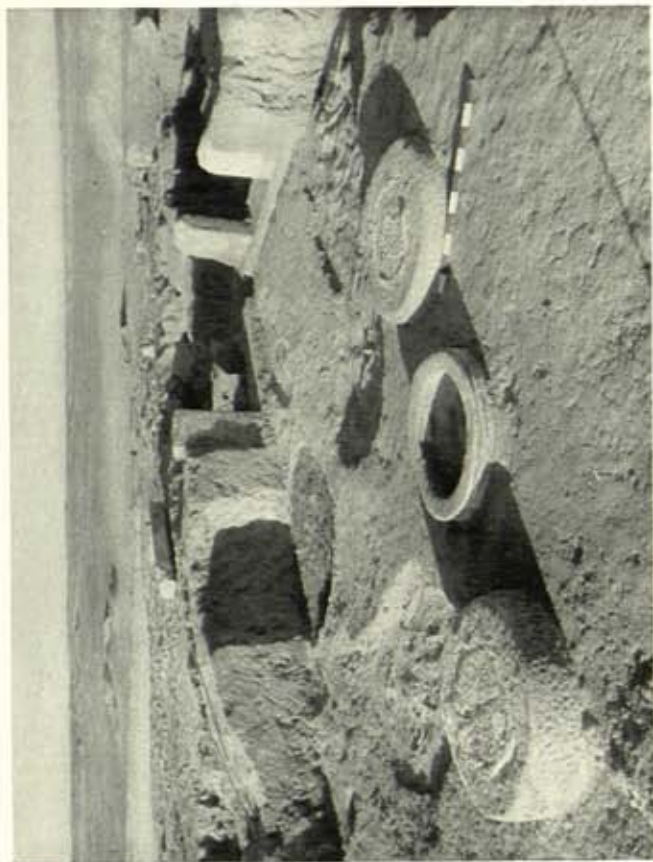


4. Blocked doorway in building E.13.2. AAe

EXCAVATIONS AT 'AMĀRAH WEST



1. Stairway outside north door of E.13.2. AAd



2. Building E.13.2. Y



3. The town wall from the east



4. Building D.15.2

destruction was much less and it was possible to study in some detail several small houses which had been built up against the outside wall of the palace.

The Level IV walls had been largely destroyed in this area by later rebuilding and it

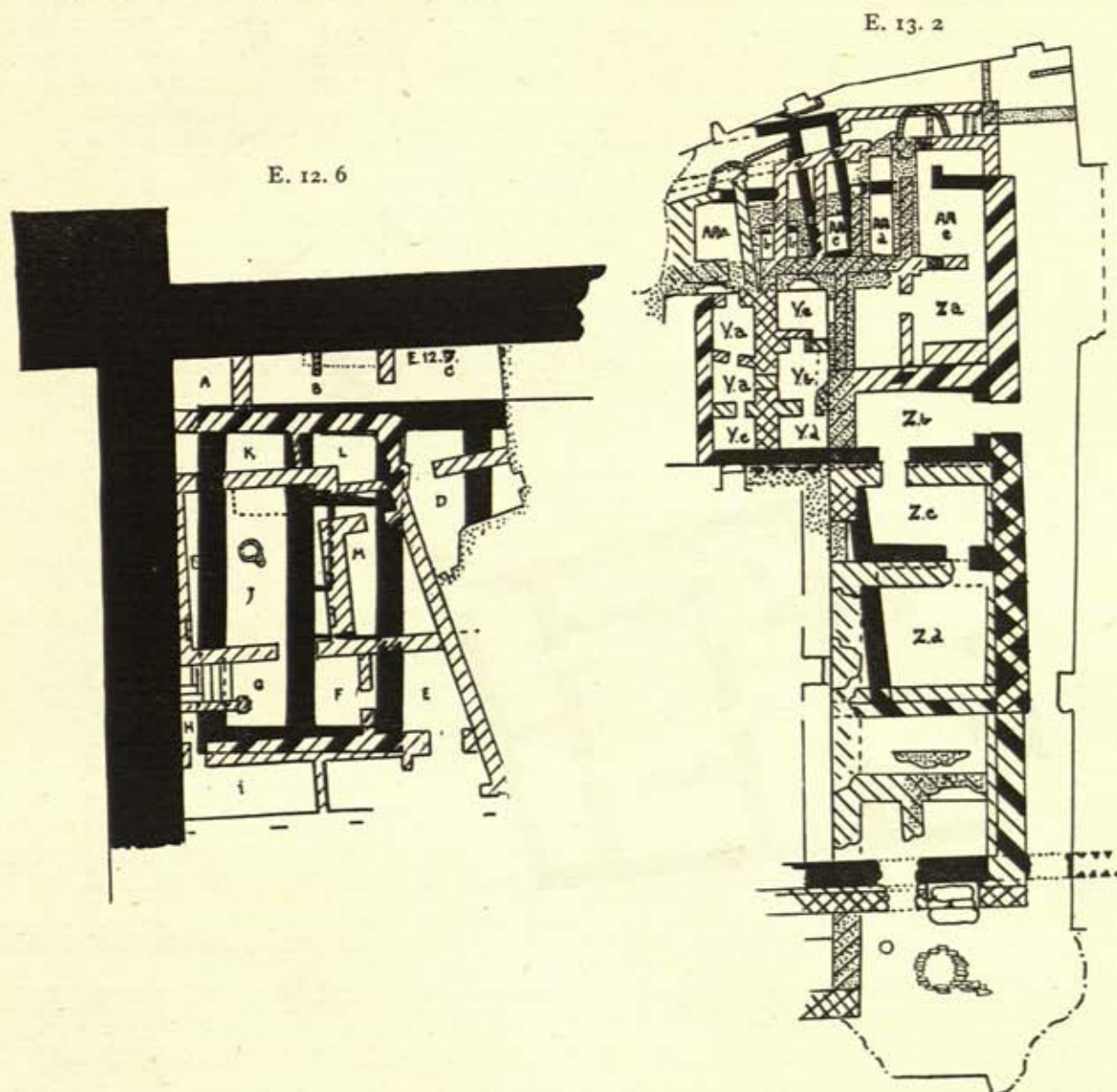


FIG. 2. 'AMĀRAH WEST, 1948-9. These two plans are additional to Vol. 34, pl. 2.

is difficult to say what constructions existed at that time. There is some evidence to suggest that the palace had covered the whole area in the earliest period as the east wall runs along as a boundary wall of the street as far as room AAe where it turns west. However this may be, in Level III the area was clearly outside the main palace and a number of small houses had been built backing on to the massive wall of Level IV which forms the south boundary of building Y, and with their exits on to an open space lying to the north of unknown extent. By Level II the whole area seems to have

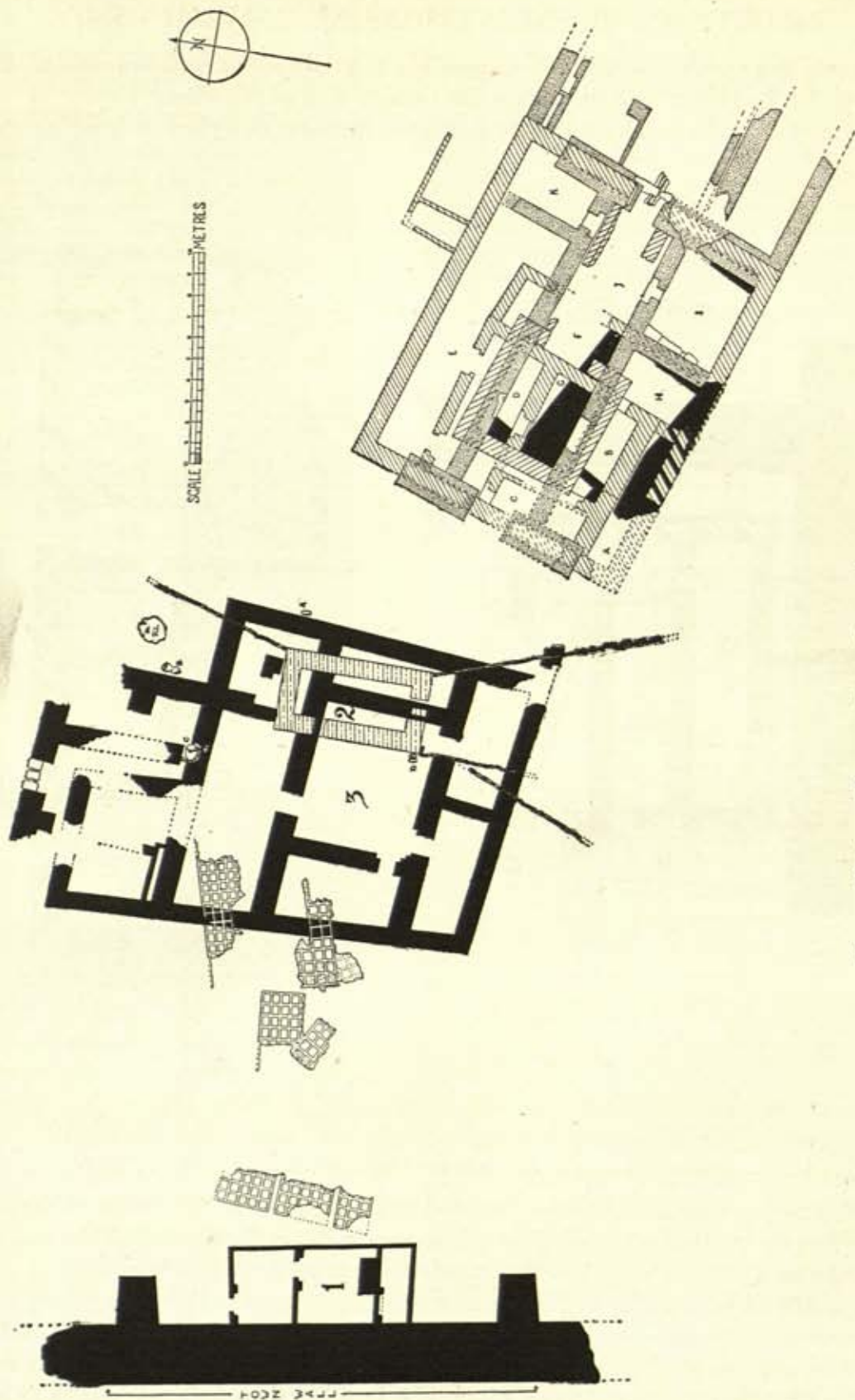


FIG. 3. 'AMĀRAH WEST, 1948-49. D. 15. 1, 2, 3, 4.

suffered a social decline; building Y, originally one house, was divided into two by the blocking of the door between rooms Ya and Yb, and a number of cross-walls were built to increase the number of rooms in each house. The original open space to the north of this area had become filled with rubble by Level II and it was turned into a narrow street by the building of a wall to its north. Doorways in this wall suggest that a number of houses lie to the north, but the area remains unexcavated.

To the east of these small houses lay a rather bigger one that preserved its Level III plan when the others were modified. A great deal of remodelling did go on, as is shown by the various blocked doorways (pl. II, 4), but no actual rebuilding seems to have taken place except where a semicircular wall was built round the north doorway. At the time of the building of this wall the rubble outside had accumulated to such an extent that a stairway was necessary to ascend to street level (pl. III, 1).

By Level I the whole of this part of the town had recovered its importance. Unfortunately, to the south the whole area had been destroyed except for two stone thresholds resting on walls of Level II. The existence of these large stone thresholds suggests that there was a building of considerable importance here, and this is borne out by the one room which was found in a comparatively undamaged state and overlying the earlier rooms of building Y (pl. III, 2).

As the illustration shows, this room was well constructed; it had stone thresholds and door-jambs. The east doorway had inscribed jambs; the southern of the two was too decayed to be legible, but the north one bore the name of Pesiūr. Work in the previous season had revealed a jamb with Pesiūr's name in Level II,¹ and as this jamb must therefore have been reused it is reasonable to assume that the others were also. The high social position of this building was further emphasized by the two stone column bases still *in situ*, the well-made mud floor, and the elaborate hearth of baked clay that lay between the two columns.

Outside the town we set ourselves to examine the large mound which lay immediately to the east and up against the town wall. This mound was at its highest point 4.8 m. high. It appeared to be entirely composed of sand and was covered with potsherds.

During the course of the two seasons a large slice was removed, starting from the north and working south until more than half the total mound had been removed, and it became clear that there was no more to be gained from the arduous and lengthy business of continued excavation. The removal of the northern section of this mound enabled a stretch of the town wall to be cleared between two buttresses (pl. III, 3) and revealed a series of buildings of considerable interest. The wall at this point was found to stand 12 feet high. Against it had been built a small house (D.15.1 in plan) consisting of three rooms; holes made in the town wall must have been for holding roofing beams.

In the area thus cleared were found in addition to the building to be described below, a series of small rectangular plots, the dividing partitions of which were made of mud. Similar plots are not known from other sites, but these were unhesitatingly claimed as seed-beds by the Gufti workmen, and such they no doubt were. It is worthy of note that the groups of plots are so arranged that a man walking on the paths between them

¹ JEA 34, 9.

could easily water a whole plot from a pot held in his hand without having to step on the cultivated area. And if they are indeed for some agricultural purpose they must have been watered by hand, as a diligent search along the wādi bank failed to show any trace of a post hole for a shaduf, nor were any irrigation channels to be found.

The small rectangular building (D.15.2 in plan) (pl. III, 4) provided the most interesting discovery of the season. Itself a plain brick building with a single entrance at the south end, it appears to have been in origin a small shrine; at a later date a doorway was made in the west wall, fires were lit inside, and it was then presumably used for some domestic purpose. To the first stage, its use as a shrine, must belong the remarkable series of snake burials found in association with it. At several points close to the wall (as marked in the plan) pots were found, carefully placed in position and sealed; on opening, they were found to contain the skeletons of snakes; they have been tentatively identified as pythons, but expert identification is still awaited. In one case a pot larger than average contained the skeleton of a dog as well as that of a snake.

The association of these ritual snake burials with the small building makes it extremely probable that this was a shrine of some so far unknown snake cult, perhaps a Nubian one. Unfortunately there was no other material which could throw light on the nature of this cult.

Underlying the small shrine was another and much larger building of which unfortunately only the lowest course of bricks now remains. From the plan there can be little doubt that it was a private house, since, although not quite orthodox, it is sufficiently like a number of the El-'Amārnah houses as given by Ricke¹ for its function to be certain. But no explanation can be given for its occurrence outside the protection of the town walls, nor can either of these two buildings be equated with the known dates of the different building levels inside the town.

Farther east lay a larger and far more elaborate building of a peculiar type. It, like the town, consisted of four separate building levels, but there is no evidence to suggest that the levels coincide in date. The only evidence of date found in the building was a block with the cartouche of Ramesses II found in room I.

The building must have been a temple, though of rather unusual design. The lowest Level IV, of which only a few traces remain, seems to have nothing in common with the design of the later building in which the three separate levels that can be made out all fit together.

The main lines of the building were laid down in Level III, which comprises the main outer wall and main entrance. Level II which apparently forms the shrine may not be very much later than III, and fits well into the general layout of the building, forming a small room at the west end of the main building.

Level I represents a certain remodelling with the building of two parallel walls which run the whole length of the temple. They suggest that the intention was to reduce the size of the main hall and they are built in obvious relationship with the rest of the structure. The fragmentary walls to the east of the main entrance are badly broken and it was not possible to make much of them—they run almost to the edge of the wādi,

¹ *Der Grundriss des Amarna Wohnhauses.*

and it appears as though the building complex which they represent must have included some form of landing stage, as on the assumption that the Nile was running in the wādi at the time, the only approach to the temple must have been by water.

The problem of the formation of the mound itself and the use to which it was put is an interesting one. It consisted largely of wind-blown sand, with layers and pockets of occupation debris within it. Unfortunately the unstable nature of the sand made it impossible to draw an accurate section to show the strata, but the records it was possible to make show that on several occasions the mound must have been occupied by a people who left traces of their hearths as well as pottery and bone. The pottery, except for some half-dozen sherds of unusual type, shows no variation from the normal New Kingdom ware of the town and, though the occupation of the mound must postdate the evacuation of the town, it is not possible to establish any chronology. The discovery of a number of recessed-base arrow-heads of chalcedony suggests that this occupation went on until Napatan times.

The mound appears to have developed in the first place as a natural sand-dune, its formation at this point being caused no doubt by the presence of those buildings outside the wall that have already been described. These buildings were presumably already disused by the time the sand-dune began to form, but there is plenty of evidence from within the town itself to show that the north wind and the sand it brings with it were a problem even during the period of occupation. The semicircular wall built round the doorway of room AAd must have been erected to keep out wind and sand, and in a number of other places some form of protection has been put up for doorways facing north. This is a precaution that can be well understood by anyone who has once experienced the fierce sand-bearing winds of winter at 'Amārah.

This continual incursion of sand must have been one of the contributory causes for the evacuation of 'Amārah. It is very noticeable nowadays when all the occupation is on the east bank that the blowing sand, intolerable on the west, is much less trying by the time it has crossed the river, penetrated the partial barrier of palm-trees that fringe the narrow strip of cultivable land, and reached the houses. So long as 'Amārah was an island it must also have benefited by this partial protection; but once the river ceased to flow in the northerly channel, living conditions must rapidly have become intolerable.

Whatever the causes of evacuation, whether political or climatic, or a combination of the two, there is no doubt of its being orderly. The two seasons' work produced very few objects, and those only of a kind that could easily have been accidentally dropped or overlooked when the population withdrew. However disappointing the lack of finds may be to the modern excavator, their absence is most important evidence for the planned nature of the Egyptian withdrawal from the northern Sudan. Here was no destruction of the town, no hasty rushing away, but a careful withdrawal by the population, who took all their possessions with them.

A BAS-RELIEF OF SEKHEMRĒ'-SEWADJTOWĒ SEBKHOTPE

By HENRI WILD

IN January 1946 M. H. Dufour, antiquities dealer in Cairo, showed me two fragments of a bas-relief of which he is the owner and which he has placed just at the side of his

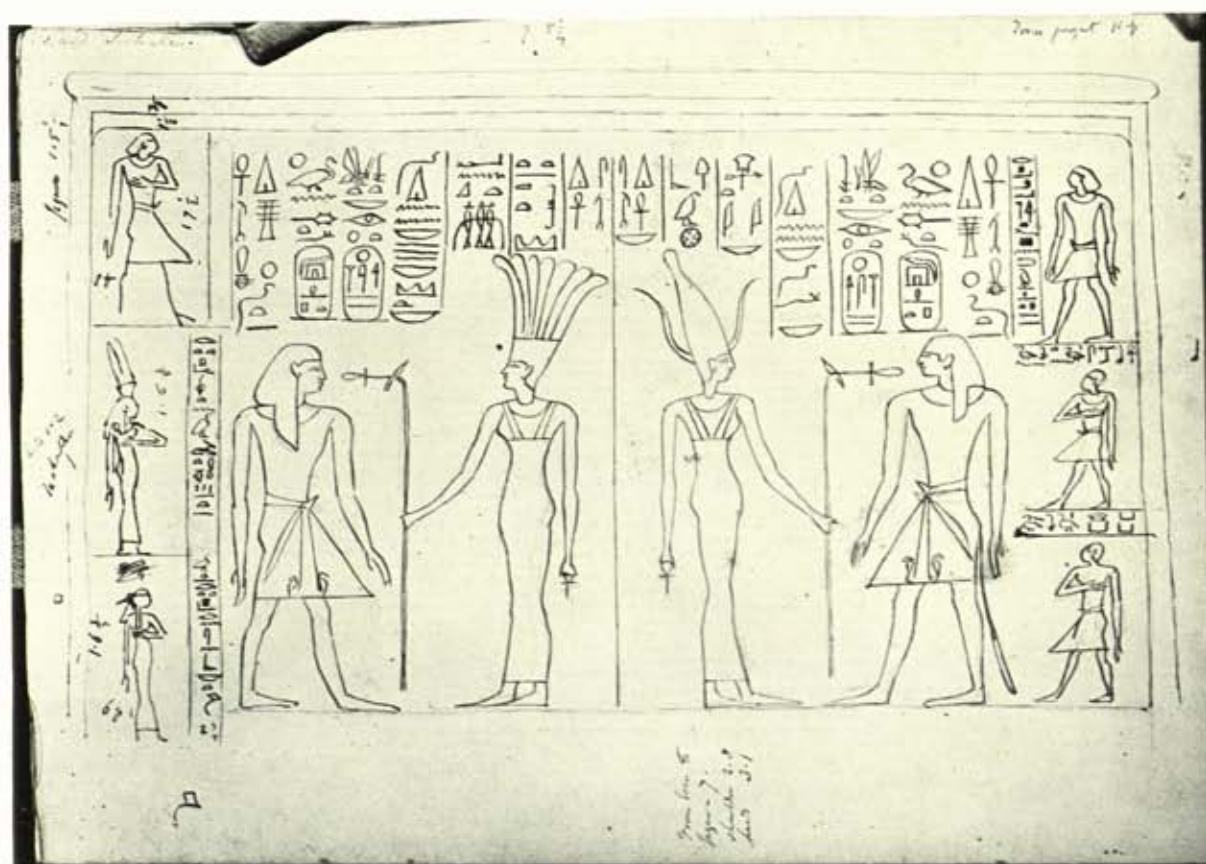


FIG. 1.

shop in the garden of Shepherd's Hotel, exactly at the south-east corner of this building. These two fragments, of similar dimensions, have been set at some distance from one another on either side of a window. At the first glance, however, it is clear that they formerly constituted one and the same panel, decorated with a double offering



1. RELIEF OF KING SEBKHOTPE III FROM AN ALTAR AT SEHÊL



2. DRAWING BY W. J. BANKS OF A RELIEF AT SEHÊL

scene. It seems very probable that this panel has been used recently as the base of a rotating mill. The two tableaux, perfectly symmetrical, show a king presenting a vase to the two female deities of the First Cataract, on the left, Satis, goddess of the island of Elephantine, on the right, Anukis, goddess of the island of Sehēl.

The two cartouches in the scene on the right, incomplete though they are, permitted me to identify the king as Sekhemrē-sewadjtowě Sebkĥotpe. As the greater number of the inscriptions of this sovereign are to be found upon usurped monuments,¹ this bas-relief, damaged though it is, is of particular interest, since it is certainly contemporaneous with this king; not the slightest hollowing out of the surface or any other signs of reuse appear in the cartouches. I decided to await an opportunity to make this little discovery known.

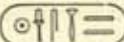
By a curious coincidence, at the end of the same year, 1946, M. F. Laming Macadam brought to light, from among the Bankes MSS., a copy of the original monument made a century and a quarter ago (see *JEA* 32, pl. 8, bottom, with a commentary, p. 60, B). When one compares this copy with my own drawing (fig. 1) and with my photographs (pl. IV, 1), which M. Dufour has been kind enough to permit me to publish, no doubt remains as to the identification of the drawing from the Bankes MSS. with the original now in Cairo. In spite of the inaccuracy of many details in the old copy, this remains as a very valuable document, since it shows the bas-relief uninjured.

However, a collation of it with the monument itself shows the following errors in the drawing:

- (a) The king in both scenes wears the uraeus on his forehead.
- (b) A narrow groove has been cut along the lower jaw of the sovereign who is here worshipping Satis (on the left), as though to indicate a line of whiskers.
- (c) In both scenes, the royal loin-cloth is completed at the front of the waist by a loop of some sort.
- (d) Actually the fingers of the two royal figures are not drawn in detail all their length, but the finger-tips are very slightly indicated.
- (e) The two royal figures were closer to one another than the sketch from the Bankes MSS. would indicate, so that the end of the tail of the one is superimposed upon the tail of the other.
- (f) The bust of the goddess Anukis presents a much more feminine appearance and the shoulder straps holding her robe are wider in the original.
- (g) The feet of all four personages show the arch, which is not indicated in the drawing by Bankes.
- (h) Each of the two vases being offered to the deities has a rim or, more probably, is closed by means of a flat lid.
- (i) The cartouches in the inscription accompanying the offering to Anukis (on the right) must be interchanged.

Concerning this last point, there is no doubt that it is the result of an error committed

¹ Cf. Cotteville-Giraudet, *Médamoud: mon. du Moyen Empire*, pp. 8 f.; Weill, in *Rev. Ég. anc.* 2, 168 (list of these monuments on pp. 170 f.) and in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 32, 22 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, *l'Égypte* (1938), 318.

by the draughtsman at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for the *nswt-bity* name of the king is  and his *s*, *R* name . Moreover, the Banks drawings show these two cartouches in their proper order in the left part of the scene (cartouches which have disappeared from the original) and upon another fragment of the same monument published by M. F. Laming Macadam (loc. cit., top).

This second fragment comes from one of the smaller sides of an altar (?) of which the Banks MSS. also contains a sketch. It shows the king wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and receiving the blessings of two anthropomorphic gods. If the one on the right is indeed Khnum, despite an erroneous writing of his name, that on the left seems to me unlikely to be a second god with the head of a ram.¹ It is more probably the god Seth, as the representative god of Upper Egypt;² the absence of a horn and the shape of the snout in the drawing would permit such an interpretation. If this indeed be the case, it is possible that upon the opposite side of the monument the king wore the crown of Lower Egypt and was attended by Khnum and Horus, the latter as the representative god of Lower Egypt.³ Moreover, a late expression *kbhw Sth*, 'the water-flow of Seth', seems to designate the cataract of Elephantine as the southern limit of the country.⁴

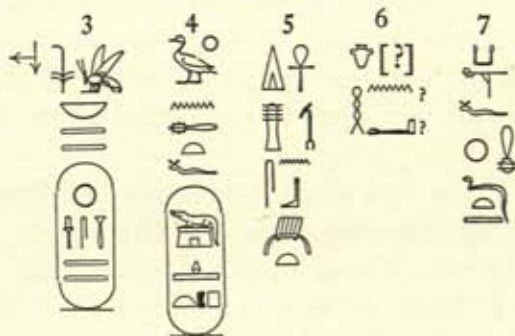
It is now possible to reconstruct the texts accompanying these two scenes and to give a translation of them.

I. *JEA* 32, pl. 8, top:

(above Khnum)



(above the king)



(above Seth)



(1) *Khnum who dwells in Elephantine (2) and who presides over Nubia—may he grant life and dominion!*⁵

(3) *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands Sekhemrê-sewadjtowê,*

¹ It is, however, a fact that two Khnums are sometimes found. An example is provided by Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 45, No. 29 (quoted by Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, 50). But there are also texts mentioning three, six, and seven Khnums (ibid.).

² Concerning this role of the god Seth, see Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. 'Set', pp. 743-5 and 748 f. (G. Roeder).

³ Several monuments from the Middle Empire represent Horus and Seth personifying Lower and Upper Egypt: (a) on the throne of Sesostri I, they tie to the sign  the heraldic plants of the two kingdoms, Horus holding the papyrus and Seth the lotus (cf. Gautier and Jéquier, *Licht*, figs. 33-7, pp. 35-7); (b) on two *sed*-festival porches found at El-Medâmûd and consecrated respectively to Sesostri III and Amenemhêt-Sebkhotpe, Seth grants a million years to the King of Upper Egypt and Horus does likewise to the King of Lower Egypt (cf. Bisson de la Roque and collab., *Médamoud*, t. VII, pl. 4 = t. VIII, pl. 8; t. VI, p. 59, fig. 48 = t. VIII, pl. 10).

⁴ Cf. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 75 f.

⁵ For this rendering of *tw*s cf. *JEA* 36, 12.

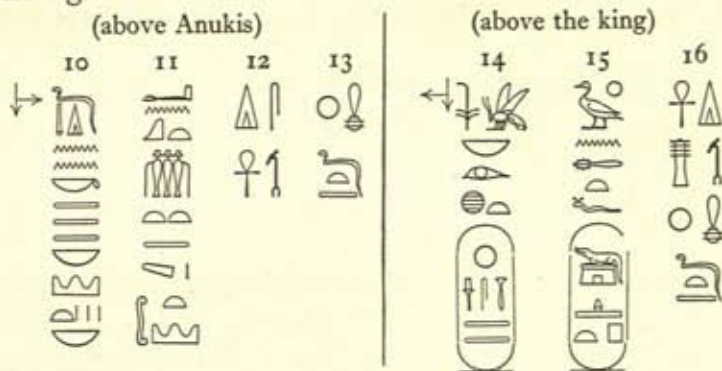
(4) the Son of Rê, of his body, Sebkhōtpe, (5) granted life, permanence, dominion, health, and expansion (6) of heart (= joy),¹ together with (7) his ka,² like Rê eternally.

(8) To be recited: I give to thee all life and dominion.

(9) [Seth, the Ombite,³—may he grant life and dominion!]

II. JEA 32, pl. 8, bottom:

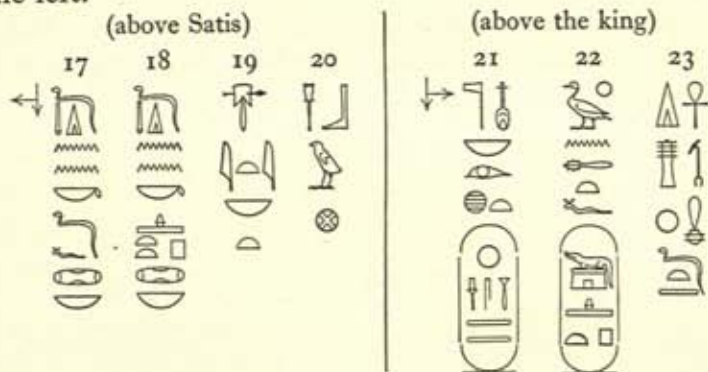
(a) Scene on the right.



(10) To be recited: I give to thee all the flat-lands and all the hill-countries. (11) Anukis⁴ who presides over Nubia, (12) may she grant life and dominion (13) like Rê eternally!

(14) The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord who performs⁵ the ceremonies, Sekhemrê-sewadjtowë, (15) the Son of Rê, of his body, Sebkhōtpe, (16) granted life, permanence, and dominion like Rê eternally.

(b) Scene on the left.



¹ The sign ∇ is rather embarrassing and may be erroneous. Also the circle above the crown of the king may have been a flaw in the stone.

² For examples of the expression rwt-ib hnt k:f (or with another suff. pron.) when the *ka* is not actually represented, cf. Leps., *Denkm.* III, pl. 18 (Karnak, VIIIth pylon—Tuthmosis I), quoted by Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, p. 113, § 26; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (Hatshepsut), I, pls. 21, 24; III, pls. 59, 61. Also Louvre C 8, another inscription of this king, referred to by Macadam in the adjacent article.

³ Or some other epithet of this god, as for example Seth 'lord of the Upper Egyptian land'. Cf. Gardiner in JEA 30, 26.

⁴ It is very exceptional to find the name of Anukis written without An . An example is provided by tomb No. 6 of the Theban necropolis (Dêr el-Medīnah): Anukis (copied from the original).

⁵ Without hnt after hnt . Cf. an example of Dyn. XII in Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine* (CCG) p. 318 and pl. 52 (Cairo 20691).

(17) *To be recited: I give to thee all food; (18) I give to thee all offerings. (19) Satis, the lady (20) of Elephantine. (21) The good god, lord who performs the ceremonies, Sekhemrē-sewadjtowē, (22) the Son of Rē, of his body, Sebkhotpe, (23) granted life, permanence, and dominion like Rē eternally.*

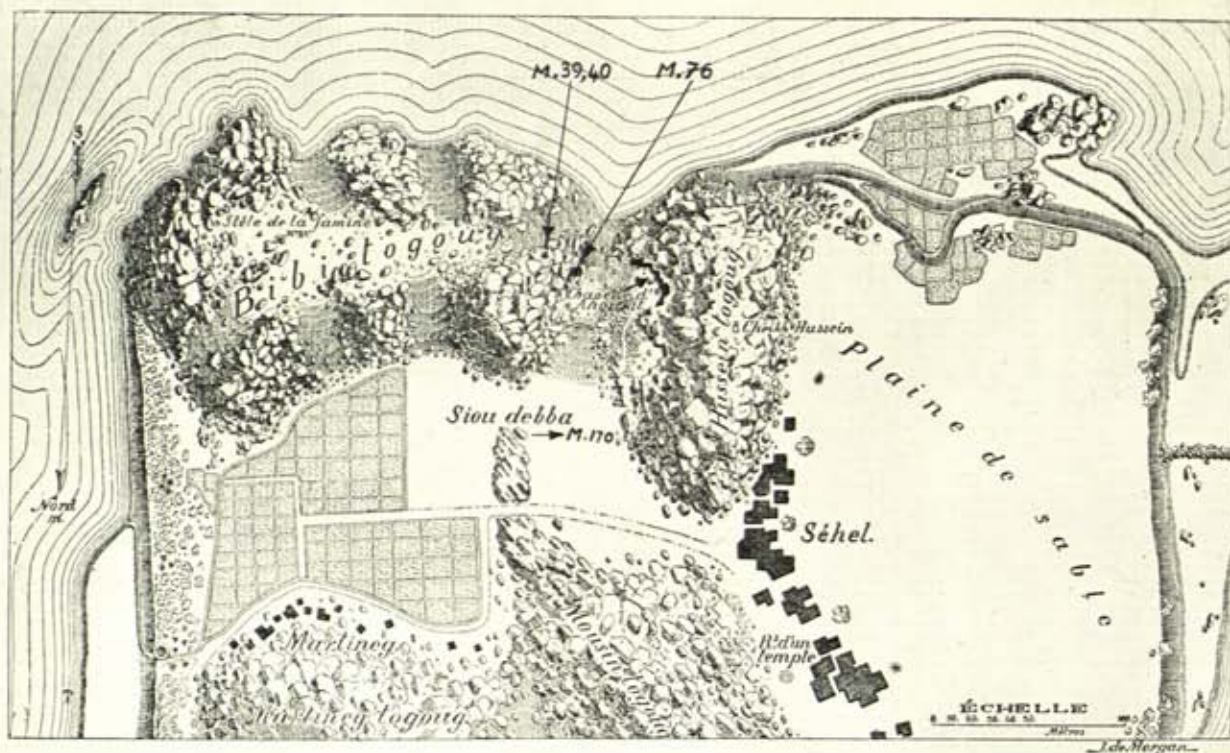
The mention of 'Sehēl' as the place of origin of these two bas-reliefs is certainly acceptable, since the gods who are represented on them are those of the First Cataract. The word 'granite' in Bankes's notes should, however, be replaced by the word 'sandstone'.

The following are the dimensions of the double fragment in the Dufour collection: height (not including the thin, roughly cut base): left, 120 cm.; right, 127 cm.

width: left, 97 cm.; right, 81 cm.

In the left scene the king is $85\frac{1}{2}$ cm. tall; in the right scene he is 86 cm. The slab is $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm. thick.

With a view to the more or less recent use of the slab as the base of a rotating mill, the top and the left side of it have been intentionally broken off; in the middle, a hole about 14 cm. square has been cut through and a circular depression about 35 cm. in diameter has been countersunk around the hole. The arrangement permitted the builders of the mill to fix the nether millstone upon the slab by means of a central shaft. The upper millstone was held in place by means of a pivot and was operated by a horizontal bar. In order to assure the proper functioning of this mill, the slab could not exceed a certain size, so that the person or animal supplying the power might complete the circuit quickly. The thinness of the slab probably accounts for the fact that it broke in the middle; this must have happened soon after the stone was first employed for this purpose because the surface of it shows almost no wear. After it had been broken, the slab was useless and this is probably the reason why it was sold readily to the Swiss collector Bircher before it passed into the hands of the present owner.



1. MAP OF THE ISLAND OF SEHĒL AFTER J. DE MORGAN



2. GRAFFITO OF MEKAL(?)-PEFRY AT SEHĒL

NOTES ON THE ALTAR OF SEKHEMRĒ- SEWADJTOWĔ SEBKĤOTPE FROM SEHĒL

By LABIB HABACHI

WHEN M. H. Wild succeeded in identifying the slabs which he had seen in Cairo with the altar of Sekhemrē-sewadjtowē Sebkḥotpe (Sebkḥotpe III) from Sehēl copied by Bankes and published by Dr. Macadam,¹ he was so kind as to show them to me and to ask me if I knew of any more parts of the same altar and whether in the region of Aswān I had come across the name of the king who erected it. After a search I was convinced that in this locality there was neither any part of the altar nor any trace of the names either of the king himself or of the members of his family. Yet I was able to collect a little information about the original position of the altar, about the king who erected it, and about some of the divinities who were depicted on it. I now publish the following notes in the hope that they will be of interest to the readers of the *Journal*, since very few objects bear the name of Sebkḥotpe III and still fewer are those which come from Sehēl.²

According to Bankes, this altar stood originally in Sehēl, a statement which accords well with the names of the divinities and localities which figure on it. De Morgan and his assistants, who worked there for a short time, discovered two independent buildings. One of these proved to be a small temple in sandstone situated to the west of the hill called Mousintagoug, not far from the only village on the island. Today there is no longer any trace of the temple, but a few of its blocks are still to be found reused in the village and a few more are stored in the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Aswān. Most of them bear the usual Ḥaṣpi-figures accompanied by inscriptions naming Ptolemy IV.³ The other building is a small chapel cut in the eastern side of the hill called Husseintagoug and is cased with slabs of quartzite bearing the name of Amenophis II. Thus there is nothing to suggest that either building was in existence during the reign of Sebkḥotpe III, when this altar was erected.

Although no exhaustive excavations have ever been conducted at Sehēl, there is no possibility of the presence of any other building there. Is it then possible that the altar which forms the subject of this article ever stood in one of the two buildings existing on the island? De Morgan and his assistants state that in the chapel cut in the hill called Husseintagoug they found the representation of Amenophis II before some divinities, including Anukis to whom the chapel was dedicated. They add that the

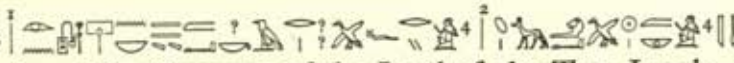
¹ See *JEA* 32, 60, with pl. 8, and Wild's and Macadam's articles in the present volume.

² In fact nothing is certainly known as coming from Sehēl, but it seems probable that the Turin Museum possesses two objects from that island. The first is a statue of the god's father Ken kneeling and holding a shrine of Anukis (No. 3016). The second is a wooden shrine with the representation of Anukis in her sacred bark on one of the outer faces (No. 2446).

³ De Morgan, *Cat. mon.* 1, 82-83.

names of his father and of the same Neb^conekh, and in a third case the names of a series of relatives ending with that of the same man are enumerated after the Horus-name, the prenomen and the nomen of the king.¹ This suggests that Neb^conekh came originally from this district or at least lived there for some time, and that it was he who ordered these graffiti to be cut, and this idea finds support from the fact that two stelae inscribed with his name were brought to light among the finds in the temple of Hekaib. It is therefore not improbable that a member of the family of Sebkhotpe III may have either lived at Aswān or at least made a temporary stay there, and that it was he who was responsible for the erection of the altar in Sehēl.²

It remains to speak of the divinities figured on the altar. On the two wider faces the king is represented twice before Satis and twice in the presence of Anukis. One of the narrower faces is missing, but on the other the king is shown receiving the blessing of two deities described by Macadam as two ram-headed gods, and by Wild as Khnum and Seth. The arguments brought forward by the latter scholar seem to find some support in a graffito (M. 170) in Sehēl itself.³ Though of later date, most probably of the Ramesside period, it shows that Seth sometimes accompanies the triad of the Cataract region. It contains a scene showing four figures with two horizontal lines of inscription below, all being somewhat weathered. What remains, however, is clear enough to show that Khnum and Anukis face Seth and Satis (pl. V, 2). The inscription

below reads  'Made for the scribe Mekal(?) - pefry of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, son of the governor Pra'emhab deceased'. Here, as apparently on the altar of Sebkhotpe III, Seth is represented with the triad of the Cataract, showing that there was some connexion between him and that group of divinities. As Wild has rightly pointed out, Seth as well as Horus is usually represented in similar scenes as blessing or crowning the king in company with other divinities.

¹ His names are found alone in Sehēl, De Morgan, *op. cit.* I, 84 [11], 85 [22], 87 [40]; with that of Neb^conekh 85 [15]; with those of his father and of Neb^conekh in Konosso, 73 [45]; and with a list of relatives ending with the same Neb^conekh on the road from Aswān to Philae, 17 [79].

² A graffito on the desert road between Armant and Nag' Hammādi depicts a king of Dyn. XIII, possibly Sebkhotpe III himself, followed by eight of his relatives, see Winkler, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, I, 10; pl. 10, fig. 1. Again the inscriptions seem to be due to a relative of the king. See below, pp. 23 ff.

³ De Morgan, *op. cit.* I, 97.

⁴ In the original the man's arms are folded under his mantle.

⁵ Another inscription in Sehēl (M. 184) mentions the scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands Pefry, who is probably identical with the owner of our inscription. Perhaps here we have a variant of his name showing that of the Canaanite god Mekal, cf. Rowe, *Beth-Shan*, pp. 14 ff. and pl. 33.

A ROYAL FAMILY OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY

By M. F. LAMING MACADAM

It is gratifying to learn that my account of the Bankes MSS., which a former editor of the *Journal*, Sir Alan Gardiner, accepted for publication (*JEA* 32, 57 ff.) has attracted a certain amount of interest. One of the pieces illustrated in that article, although in a sadly deteriorated condition, having been employed, it seems, as a millstone since the time when it was seen and copied by Bankes, has been discovered by M. Henri Wild, of the French Institute, at a dealer's in Cairo, and he has forwarded a description and drawing of it in its present state, see the accompanying article by him in this volume of the *Journal*. The relief is one of two seen by Bankes at Sehēl, and Labib Bey Habachi, who has recently been concerned with works in the Cataract district, includes some comments on the deities represented on the other in an article likewise in this volume. Since I now have some further remarks to offer concerning the king who figures in these reliefs, the editor has kindly arranged to include all these papers in a single volume.

The publication of my article has had a further result, which is that Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, now Deputy Keeper in charge of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum, has called my attention to the presence in his Department of a substantial number of further manuscripts and drawings by Bankes. By his generous permission, therefore, I am enabled to include here a drawing (British Museum, Bankes Notebooks, I, 86) of yet another representation of King Sekhemrē^c-sewadjtowē Sebkhotpe (pl. IV, 2). This drawing is marked 'Island Seehale', and from the dimensions given (2.27×1.68 m. when transposed into metric) it seems likely to have been another relief from the same monument as those shown in *JEA* 32, pl. 8, of which one piece has been found by M. Wild.

In the relief now to be described we have a second double scene showing the same king and the same goddesses, the main difference being that here the goddesses are on the inside instead of the outside. The scene is surmounted by the sky $\equiv$, above which comes the roll-moulding of the lost cornice. It is hardly necessary to add that the drawing exhibits the same characteristics of flat feet and absence of uraei, to which M. Wild calls attention [p. 13, (a), (g)], as the other drawings of Bankes: these things would not have been so on the original. The goddesses give the king ☿ and ♂ , the first symbolically projected from the head of the second, which is at the same time the staff of the deity conferring the gifts, a theme common enough. The texts above the main persons merely state their identities and confirm the gifts.

Yet apart from the fact that these three reliefs are likely to have formed portions of a single monument of Sebkhotpe at Sehēl, there is a wider interest. Ranged in the last-mentioned relief in small registers behind the main scenes are members of the king's family, four male and two female, as follows:

1. the king's father (though not here so designated), the 'Father of the God', Menthotpe.

2. A second male figure dressed like Menthotpe, the name and titles of which Banks omitted.

3. a prince named Sonb.

4. another prince named Kha'ikau.

5. the king's mother, Yauheyebu.

6. a princess named Rensonb.

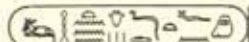
The names of Sebkhotpe's parents are known from scarabs.¹ That his father was never king is reasonably certain, for his name, without the royal attributes, and that of Queen Yauheyebu, appear on a stela of 'the King's Son Sonb, begotten of the God's Father Menthotpe, deceased, and born to the King's Mother Yauheyebu',² who is thus the full brother of Sebkhotpe. Sonb must there be using the title 'King's Son' in such a way as to credit his father retrospectively with royalty by virtue of his own position as brother of Sebkhotpe, for had Menthotpe ever assumed that dignity in his lifetime the royal attributes would not have been omitted from these monuments, both of which were made after his death. From the stela we obtain also the names of Sonb's children, two sons, Sebkhotpe and Menthotpe, and two daughters, Yauheyebu and Henu (), as well as that of a lady named Nebyot (), who may well be a wife of Sonb. But whether this Sonb is the Sonb of the relief under discussion is not quite clear, for the person represented on the monument at Sehêl stands in a register behind Sebkhotpe and below Menthotpe, so that the qualification 'his son' might refer to either. Reference to the opposite side of the relief does not help us, for in the designation of Princess Rensonb Banks has merely drawn a line to delineate the suffix after *st*. If this had been a clear — it would indicate that on this relief the suffixes might be taken, if necessary, to refer to other persons than Sebkhotpe. I am inclined to think that it is in fact a —, for all the other — are sufficiently recognizable. In consequence we are entitled to consider whether *st.f*, 'his son', describing the princes Kha'ikau and Sonb, may not refer to Menthotpe. In that case they are the brothers of Sebkhotpe and not his sons, having nevertheless arrogated to themselves the title 'King's son', as we have seen Sonb do elsewhere. It may be noted that in the present relief all the persons whose names we can read have epithets revealing that they have died, saving only Sebkhotpe and Kha'ikau. On the other hand Sebkhotpe seems to have survived at least two of his daughters, as we shall see, and Sonbs are legion, especially at the time of which we are speaking, so that there is every possibility of his having had a son of that name. In this inconclusive state the question must be left until later, for although I shall in a moment be able to cite another monument on which Sonb and Kha'ikau are named, this contributes nothing except the probability that Kha'ikau too died before Sebkhotpe.

Other members of the royal family are known from two further sources. The first of these is the handsome stela Louvre C 8,³ a funerary monument, dated to this reign

¹ Listed in, for example, Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, Nos. 290-2.

² *Rec. trav.* 7, 188.

³ Prisse, *Mon.*, viii; Pierret, *Recueil* . . . , II, 107; Petrie, *History*, I (1924 ed.), fig. 125.

by the names of the king in the upper portion, for Sebkhotpe's daughters  Princess Yauheyēbu, known as 'Nose' or possibly 'Nosy', and  Princess Dede'anūke. These were both daughters by a queen named  Neni, and their epithets indicate that both they and their mother died before Sebkhotpe.

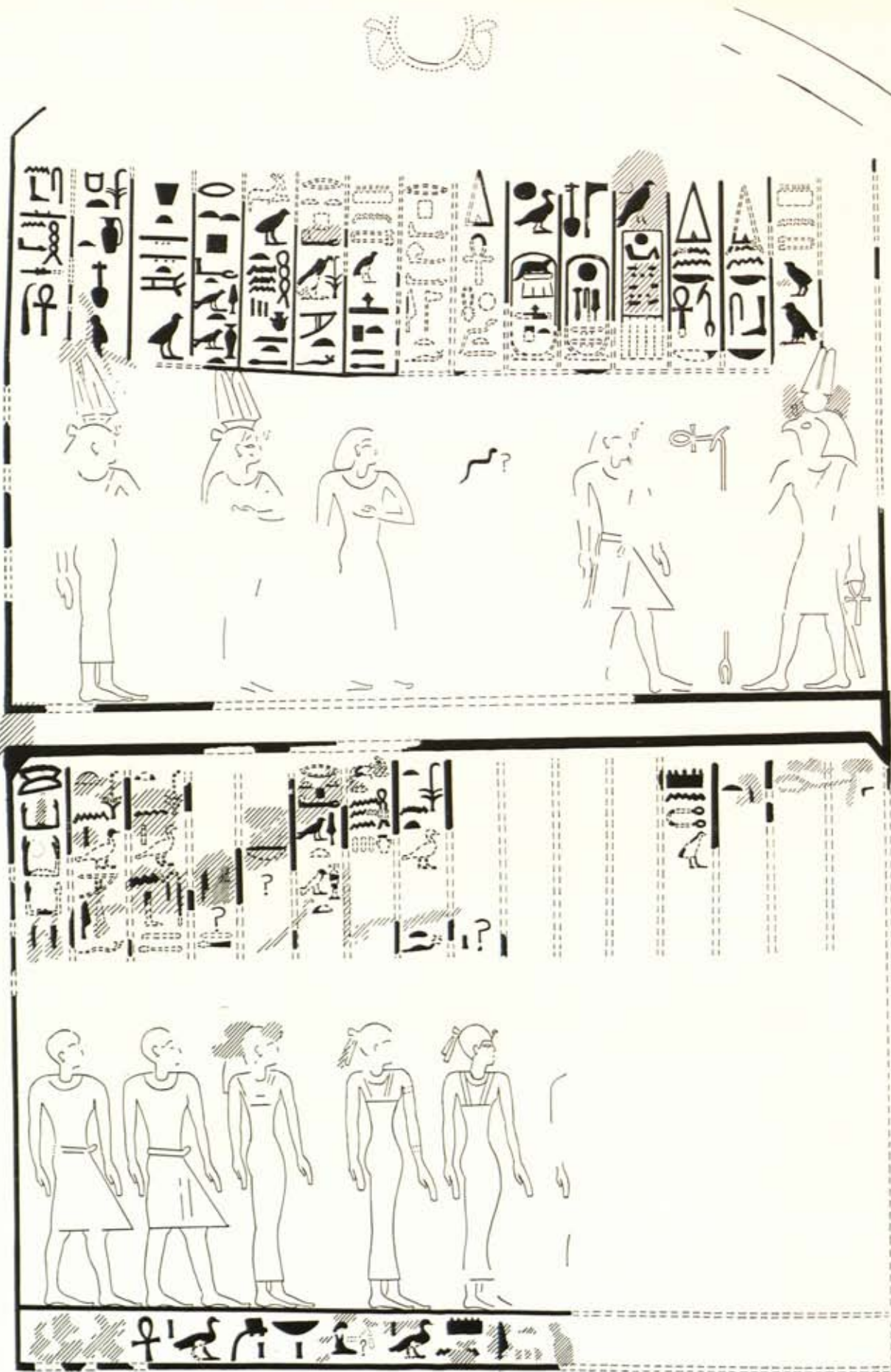
The second source is a family stela found at Abydos in 1904 and now in the Cairo Museum.¹ Here a 'King's Mother' Yauheyēbu is shown, wearing a head-dress similar to that worn by the queen of this name on the Sehēl monument, accompanied by at least twenty-five other persons, all of whom were related in some way to her and to one another. That she is the same Queen Yauheyēbu in both instances, the mother of Sebkhotpe, seems very probable, though the continual retransmission of family names implies a warning against making too ready equivalences. However, if we take it that she is identical, the stela is an eloquent witness to the marital manners of the period, or perhaps rather of the social surroundings from which the family sprang, for, as has been remarked,² the lack of titles probably indicates a middle or lower-class origin, and this must have been true of other royal families of that era: they were *parvenus*. The Queen's husband Menthotpe, as well as her sons Sebkhotpe and Sonb, are absent, and since she here has different children, one supposes that she had another husband, and to him we shall return in a moment.

Most of the relationships between these persons cannot be determined with complete certainty because there is no guiding principle whereby the reader may discover to whom the various epithets 'his mother', 'her son', and the like, are supposed to refer. If anyone should maintain that in such scenes the relationships stated must always refer to the principal persons represented, or, failing that, to persons in the near vicinity, reference to this monument should dispel the illusion. The lady Dedenūb (No. 10 if we number the figures from left to right successively in registers, beginning at the top) is, for example, called 'her mother'. Whose mother? She is not the mother of the queen, for Yauheyēbu's mother is stated to be one Senwosre. She is not the mother of the ladies to her left (No. 11) and right (No. 9), nor yet of her who is placed above her (No. 3), for these are all said to be daughters of the queen. She is not the mother of No. 13, for that lady is said to be the daughter of No. 4. Lastly 'her mother' cannot be said in reference to any person in the register below, for these are all males. If we accept the solution proposed by the authors of the publication, 'her' refers to a person named Ini, who is in fact not represented at all unless in the lost portion.³ On the other hand the description of No. 6 is so phrased that 'her' can refer only to No. 1, while 'his' in that of No. 24 must refer to No. 20. It is evident, therefore, that there is no system at all, at least in so far as the epithets are concerned, and for this reason there is no inherent objection to making Sonb, in the Bankes drawing, the son of Menthotpe. We shall see later, however, that there does seem to be some system in the *disposition* of the figures.

¹ Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, *Abydos*, III, pl. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³ I find that I am not altogether in agreement with the genealogy proposed by the authors. No. 14 *st n* *Sbk-wn*, *ms n Ini*, seems clearly to denote a son of Sebkwon and of Ini. Consequently I would make No. 19, Sebkwon-son-of-Sen'onkh, the husband of Ini instead of No. 7. Sebkwon is then father of Nos. 14, 15 (also called Sebkwon), 16, and 17.



ROCK-CUT STELA OF KING SEBKHOTPE III ON THE ARMANT-NAG'-ḤAMMĀDI TRACK

The triple occurrence of brothers and sisters 'on the mother's side', that is, half-brothers and half-sisters (Nos. 13, 23, 24) indicates that three of the ladies mentioned (Hapiu, Bebi-onkh, and Sontipe) had more than one husband, and, as has been said, this looks like being true also of Queen Yauheyēbu, for besides Sonb and Sebkhotpe she has two sons (Nos. 6, 7), neither of whom is given a royal title, and three daughters (Nos. 3, 8, 9), of whom only two are called 'King's Sister'.

The rather marked tendency of the ladies to change partners makes it difficult enough to visualize the complicated relationships which ensue, but one circumstance may be noted which could be thought to imply that matters stood even worse. One of Yauheyēbu's daughters who are also King's-Sisters is called Mautisonti (𐄂𐄂𐄂𐄂𐄂𐄂). This is a startling name to our way of thinking, for it means 'My mother is my sister'.¹ A name may proverbially mean nothing, or it may be only intended to be understood metaphorically. But if it be taken literally it involves the conclusion that one of Yauheyēbu's husbands was her father.

Fortified by this preliminary study of the House of Sebkhōtpe we may proceed to the examination of another monument to the family. North-westwards from the hills above Armant runs a track across the desert, a short cut which avoids the large bend in the Nile wherein lay the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh nomes of Upper Egypt. It reaches the river again in the direction of Nag' Hammādi and Farshūṭ. At the point where it descends from the level of the desert, roughly half-way between Armant and Nag' Hammādi, Dr. Hans Winkler reported an exceptionally large number of rock graffiti, including Arab *wusūm*, drawings of gods, men, animals, and boats, as well as hieratic, hieroglyphic, Greek, and Coptic inscriptions,² a fact which testifies to the continuous importance of the track. 'Rarely', he says, 'has such a mass of hieroglyphic inscriptions been found at one site, and not only the usual graffiti, but even a carefully worked stela.' It is this stela which holds our interest at the moment. Although careful scrutiny can distinguish much in the published photograph,³ the inscription was studied by the late Professor Newberry, and his copy of it exists in one of his note-books, together with some further pictures.⁴ I am again indebted to Mr. Edwards, and also to Miss Moss, for notifying me of this, and for suggesting that it would be useful to include the stela in the present article, as it has some bearing on the Bankes drawing. I have also to thank Professor Säve-Söderbergh, who kindly micro-filmed all the relevant documents of Professor Newberry's. By projecting his conveniently small negatives on to a sheet of paper, drawing in the images, and comparing the results with Professor Newberry's, I have succeeded in making the drawing shown in pl. VI. Some points remain obscure, and these I have indicated as best I can with hatching and with interrogation-marks. It has not quite the accuracy which a visit to the site might have made possible, but it shows the main essentials more clearly than a photograph.

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 311, n. 1, agrees.

² *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, I, Site 30.

³ Ibid., pl. 10, 1.

* I am reasonably sure that one of the pictures I have used is a copy of the one published (see the previous note), which is one of Dr. Winkler's photographs taken for the Sir Robert Mond Expedition of the E.E.S. It occurs to me that the other two are probably also copies of Dr. Winkler's pictures. They are excellent, like all of his. On the other hand they may have been taken by Prof. Newberry.

2. 'The princess, the King's dear mother, Yauḥeyēbu, deceased.'
3. 'The princess, great of grace and great of favour, the mistress of the Two Lands entire, the wearer of the crown Beautiful,¹ Senbeḥna's, may she live!'

Queen Senbeḥna's has for long been known as belonging somewhere within the confines of the Second Intermediate Period. Professor Newberry's notes show that he had recognized the importance of this inscription for determining her chronological position, and on a former occasion² he had recognized the similarity between her name and that of a vizier Senbeḥna's, the husband of a hereditary princess Sebkhotpe and the father of Queen Menthotpe, the last being generally agreed to be the wife of King Dhout. Studies concerning these latter persons, dating from Goodwin, Lepsius, and Passalacqua, together with a bibliography of Queen Senbeḥna's, have been most interestingly assembled by the late H. E. Winlock in a former volume of the *Journal*.³

The gap after Sebkhotpe is awkward. It is large enough to contain another figure, but in the photographs nothing positive can be discerned. There is indeed a curved line exactly where one might expect to see the ear and neck of such a figure, and if this exists it may depict the unnamed person appearing in the upper left corner of the Bankes drawing. Yet if the concluding column of the king's legend end in some such words as *dī nhī mī R' dt*, as surely it must, and if the name of Menthotpe is to retain its titles, there is then no space left for the name and titles of an additional figure. On the other hand the curved mark could be the hieroglyph 𓂏, perhaps the beginning of a column of signs headed by 𓂏.

The lower scene likewise depicts a series of persons, again facing to the right. The two hindmost are males, and are preceded by three females with traces of a fourth.⁴ It is not easy to say what the broken area at the right contained. If there was another deity there this would have perhaps been Hathōr, since she presided over the Sixth and Seventh nomes at the northern end of the road where the monument is placed. On the other hand, there may have been no deity, but only a continuation of the line of figures above. In the latter case the third and fourth columns of signs, of which traces remain, will not have repeated the name of Sebkhotpe's father, as at first sight appears, but rather that of another member of the family, perhaps a son or a daughter who likewise carried the name Menthotpe or another compounded with 'Mont'.

The first two complete figures are evidently daughters of Sebkhotpe, for they are dressed like the two daughters in the Louvre stela except that here both ends of the head-fillets are shown falling backward whereas in the Louvre scene one end comes forward. The name of the first complete princess is lost: possibly she was Dede'anūke. The next is a Yauḥeyēbu, surely she who in the Louvre inscription bears the unbecoming yet unrepudiated nickname of 'Nosy'. Here there is in fact room to restore the

¹ The crown was also called 𓂏 𓂏, 'Beautiful and White (?)'. On the canopic box and coffin of Queen Menthotpe (titles quoted *JEA* 10, 270) the two forms seem to be interchangeable. All three names *nfr(t)*, *hdt*, and *nfr(t)-hdt*, since all have *st* as determinative, denote the White Crown of Upper Egypt. Yet in the relief the queen does not wear 𓂏, but instead a head-dress of tall feathers, which is evidently a symbol of royalty. Can *nfr(t)* have been the original name of this feathered crown?

² Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, 124.

³ 10, 269 ff.

⁴ Newberry's notes make this figure female.

signs 𓂏-𓂏𓂏 (following the Louvre spelling); I have resisted the temptation to place them in the drawing, however, having indicated there, with dotted lines, only such restored signs as seem reasonably certain.

The next lady is dressed differently, having the long wig which falls below the shoulders, and this I take to be connected with the fact that she is not a royal daughter but a 'hereditary princess, great of grace and great of favour'. In Bankes's drawing of the Sehēl monument, the lower left-hand figure, named Rensonb, is similarly dressed, and again is not given a royal title. Rensonb then is perhaps a daughter of queen Yauḥeyēbu, but not by Mentḥotpe, for in that event she would have assumed the title *syt nswt* as we have seen Sonb do, and it seems not unreasonable to conclude that she is a daughter of Yauḥeyēbu (confirming the reading *syt-s* on the Bankes drawing) and her second husband; and from this one may hazard the suggestion that this second husband is the anonymous figure in the top left corner of the Sehēl relief. The last lady in the rock-stela is not Rensonb, for the traces do not suit the name, but she could well be another daughter of Yauḥeyēbu.

If we now reconsider the Abydos stela we shall see that there is perhaps a little more consistency in the arrangement of the figures than we were at first inclined to suspect. In the first two registers there is a clear division into two families, while filiation is normally expressed on the female side only. The two families are respectively descended from Senwosre the mother of Yauḥeyēbu (No. 1) and from Ḥapiu the mother of Bebi'onkh (No. 4). If we take note of the women only, we see that those of the Senwosre family are placed more or less on the left side of the stela (Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9), those of the Ḥapiu family on the right (Nos. 4, 5, 10, 13, 23). Some of the males are similarly placed by reference to their descent; thus Nos. 7 and 21 are on the Senwosre side, Nos. 11 and 18 are on the Ḥapiu. But the position of the males is complicated by their marriages and by the introduction into the family of men from outside who married into it (Nos. 12 and 19, together with 14-17, sons of 19: cf. p. 22, n. 3). In the top register, however, this complication has not arisen, and there are as yet only two families concerned. No. 6, belonging by descent to the Senwosre side, is placed on the Ḥapiu side because he married into it; and evidently No. 2, who belongs to the Ḥapiu family by birth, is placed on the left side because he married into the Senwosre family. No. 2 is the 'God's Father' Dedesūbek, whose mother was Bebi'onkh the daughter of Ḥapiu. I am inclined to think that his position next to Yauḥeyēbu is due to his marriage with her, and that he is the hitherto anonymous second husband. No. 3, called merely 'daughter of Yauḥeyēbu, born to Yauḥeyēbu' I take to be not a name but a *carte blanche* to cover any daughters whose names could not be fitted in. Thus the Queen and her daughters are neatly packed together in the top left corner: they entirely enclose Dedesūbek, who cannot escape from belonging with them.

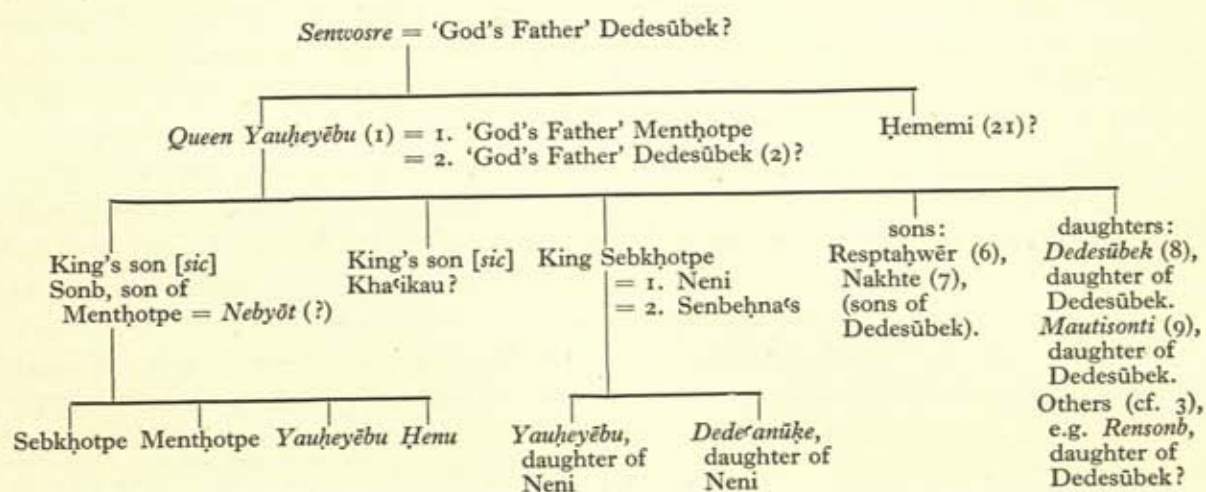
Another fact now strikes us as being important: one of Yauḥeyēbu's daughters is also called Dedesūbek¹ (No. 8); does it not seem likely that she is the 'God's Father' Dedesūbek's daughter? If she were Mentḥotpe's daughter why did she not arrogate to herself the title *syt nswt* 'King's daughter' just as Sonb called himself 'King's Son'? It

¹ The feminine form in the Egyptian would probably not differ in pronunciation from the masculine.

would appear that Dedesūbek and Mautisonti failed to do this because they were not daughters of King Sebkhotpe's father; as daughters of the 'God's Father' Dedesūbek they were only *snt-f nt mwt-f*, and they might call themselves *snt nswt* but not *srt nswt*. Further, since the mention of *nswt* indicates that Yauheyēbu's marriage with Menthotpe was prior to that with Dedesūbek, and since King Sebkhotpe survived his mother, her marriage with Dedesūbek, who was apparently her father (cf. above), took place during the lifetime of the king, probably when Menthotpe died.

The last figure on the rock-stela is Kha'ikau,¹ whom we have met already on the Bankes drawing. His association there with Sonb makes it probable that the penultimate figure on the rock-stela is also Sonb. The traces there seem in fact to suit the name, as I have indicated in the drawing, but this was not seen by Newberry, and I am very conscious of the fact that in searching for signs on broken patches of stone one thinks only too easily that one sees what one hopes to find. With regard to the parentage of these two princes the rock-stela is not helpful. On the other hand, the Sehēl relief, one feels, would be unlikely to show them unless their mother were included, for the family has a matriarchal atmosphere. Their mother cannot have been Rensonb, who has no title 'King's Wife', and for lack of any better evidence it may be presumed that their mother is the Queen Mother herself, Yauheyēbu, the only other lady in the picture.

It remains now to reassemble that part of the genealogy which concerns King Sebkhotpe, since we have found further names to add. The tree, omitting its rather problematical ramifications of the Abydos stela, I take to be as follows. Females are in italics, and the numerals refer to the Abydos stela.



For the drawing of the lowest part of the stela, a horizontal line of signs mentioning 'Siamūn, possessor of honour, son of 'Ankhe . . .'. I am entirely dependent on the photographs, for this is not included in Professor Newberry's copy. A nearer view would, I believe, have established at least the concluding signs. Siamūn is a common enough

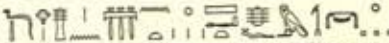
¹ Newberry's copy arranges the signs (in a column) thus: The published photograph suggests the same arrangement, but the unpublished one has enough traces, obscured in shadow in the first photograph, to make out three in a column, which fit the space better. The last signs might be or .

name in the Thirteenth Dynasty; in P. Boulaq 18, a register of accounts at the court of another Sebkhotpe not very far removed in time from this one, five Siamūns are mentioned.¹ Perhaps the monument was made, not without hope of a share in the royal favour, so as to include, *tout au fond*, the name of a recently deceased member of their company, by a group of Sebkhotpe's poor relations: they must have been very numerous.

¹ Also 6 Rensonbs, 3 more Sebkhotpes, 6 Sonbs (10 if we include $\overline{\text{I}} \text{Q}$), and 2 Dedesūbeks.

A GRIM METAPHOR

By SIR ALAN GARDINER

THE hieroglyph  (F41 in my Sign-list)¹ appears to have presented a problem, not merely to Egyptologists, but even to the Egyptians themselves. In a rubric belonging to that part of Ch. 151 of the Book of the Dead which refers to the amulet of the  or *djed*-column (R11) we read: . To be recited over a *djed-column of fayence, the top (št) of which is of fine gold.*² The word *št* here may, as Griffith suggested,³ contain an allusion to the 'lopping off' (*šr*) of the branches of the , this being viewed as a tree; but it also in all probability owed its very existence to the resemblance of the determinative of the stem *šr* to the top of the amulet. A different interpretation of the sign  is seen in its use as determinative of the word  *psd* 'back';⁴ how easily it could be viewed as a piece of flesh with ribs projecting from it is shown by its similarity to the hieroglyph  often found in the lists of offerings in the word  *špht* 'ribs of beef'.⁵ It is, however, certain that neither of these Middle Egyptian interpretations has correctly diagnosed the sign's origin. Before investigating that origin let us recall the normal employment from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards. The Old Kingdom verb  *šr* 'cut off' (limbs, plants, trees), sometimes thus determined by a knife,⁶ has later been largely superseded by its synonym  *šrd*,⁷ in which  still later is often replaced by ; from *šr* is derived the very common abstract word  *šrt*,⁸ with such variants as , , ⁹ and with a number of related meanings such as 'slaughter', 'cutting in pieces', 'ferocity'.¹¹ It is difficult, at first sight, to see what connexion the sign  can have had with any of these notions, but we shall find that the Pyramid Texts provide the answer.

The material at my disposal does not permit me to trace the gradual evolution of the determinative found in those earliest religious writings into the strange and incomprehensible form indicated above, but the older and younger forms have enough in common, above all the parallel bars and the projection at the top, to render the fact indisputable. As Sethe's careful copies show—they are of course not facsimiles—both the

¹ The conclusion reached in the present article was very briefly stated in the 2nd ed. of my *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 466.

² Naville, *Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya*, pl. 13, l. 3, where, however, the actual form of the sign is closer in appearance to the top of the *djed*; substantially the same rubric in Naville, *Les Quatre Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille*, pl. 15, but with  as determinatives of *šrt*.

³ Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 60.

⁴ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, (IV), 116.

⁵ References in my Sign-list under F43; see too *Wb.* IV, 105.

⁶ *Urk.* I, 103, 14 (Weni); *ibid.* 108, 4 uses a man holding a knife; for the simple knife determinative cf. in M.K., Couyet & Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 110, 6.

⁷ *Urk.* IV, 894, 11.

⁸ Cairo 20089; *Urk.* IV, 282, 7; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (III), 57, 11.

⁹ Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes*, p. 34.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*; without plural strokes Berlin 1624; *Amenemhêt*, pl. 30.

¹¹ *Wb.* IV, 416 gives as the meanings *Verwundung, Gemetzel, Unheil, Schrecken*.

verb *šr* and the derivative abstract *šrt* display in the Pyramid Texts a determinative  of which the pictorial explanation is at once apparent; it is a bundle of stalks tied round the middle with, visible above, the two ends of the twine or cord as (e.g.) in the sign of the papyrus  (Y1). Usually the stalks are four in number (*Pyr.* 549 *a*, P; 763 *d*, P, M, N; 940 *c*, N, and often), but sometimes they are three (53 *a*, N; 755 *c*, P; 940 *c*, M; 1039 *c*, P); examples are found (e.g. 53 *a*, W; 197 *a*, N) where the stalks are fused together so as to present the form ; the vertical ties may be omitted (53 *a*, W; 653 *b*, M) or welded into one thick stroke (1337 *d*, P); the loose ends at the top may have been overlooked (*ibid.*; 763 *d*, P) or reduced to a tiny dot (755 *c*, P, M) or, at least in one case (1472 *b*, P) twisted round into a minute semicircle resembling that seen in . These differences are insignificant and do not seriously affect our understanding of the sign; more importance, however, may perhaps be attached to the isolated variant  (1472 *b*, M), since the curve seems to indicate that the objects bound together were flexible, e.g. stalks instead of boards. Clearly the hieroglyph, if depicting anything at all connected with 'cutting', the basic notion of the stem *šr*, can only have depicted the thing that was cut, not the instrument with which the cutting was done. That instrument, a simple knife, is used as determinative in the Pyramids only once, namely in 940 *c*, P. It remains to state that the antiquated determinative has survived into the Twelfth Dynasty in a unique writing of the well-known epithet of Osiris  *who parted the slaughtering of the Two Lands*.¹

The meaning of the Pyramid Texts determinative of *šr*, *šrt* might still have remained a puzzle, had not De Buck pointed out to me that the verb *hmr* 'seize', 'grasp' receives in the same texts a determinative which in two cases is actually identical (547 *b*, P; 766 *a*, P, cf. *ibid.* N), while in a few others the horizontal stalks, if such they be, display heads which must clearly be what, in the determinative of *šr*, *šrt*, had already been lopped off; cf., in *Pyr.* 24 *c*,  (N352) and  (N563); in 1212 *b*, the variant of N lacks the ties, while that of M, in Sethe's edition, shapes the four horizontal strokes as though they were arrows. This valuable information supplied by De Buck instantly reminded me of a relief of operations connected with the flax harvest that I had somewhere seen on the walls of a tomb; at the moment I could not remember the actual place, but this was at once pointed out by my regretted friend Gunn. In the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Peñrai at El-Kāb² we see men and a woman plucking up the stalks, then a man holding a bundle and patting it in such a way as to bring the heads or bolls level, then another man tying a large bundle together; lastly, a bundle of stalks having been brought to the old man on the left, he combs them through a wooden contrivance, in English called a 'ripple', which neatly removes the bolls, these falling in great numbers on to the ground (see fig. 1). Here, obviously, we have the origin both of  in the Pyramids and of  in later times. The meaning of the verb *hmr* confirms this identification. It signifies 'to grasp', a sense indicated by its once in the Pyramid Texts (547 *b*, T) having as determinative a fist holding a stick. A text of the reign of Ramesses II shows that *hmr*

¹ Cairo 20242 = Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, 1, 265, at *c*.

² Tylor and Griffith, *The Tomb of Peñrai* (E.E.F. edition), pl. 3; similarly in the Theban tombs of Kha'emhē (No. 57) and Menna (No. 100), see Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 193. 233. The Old and Middle Kingdom scenes show only the bundles, never also the wooden contrivance described here.

was the regular term used in reference to the familiar scene of Pharaoh grasping the locks of his enemies before battering their heads to pieces with his club.¹ An allusion to this ferocious act, which to Egyptian minds exhibited their warrior monarch at his

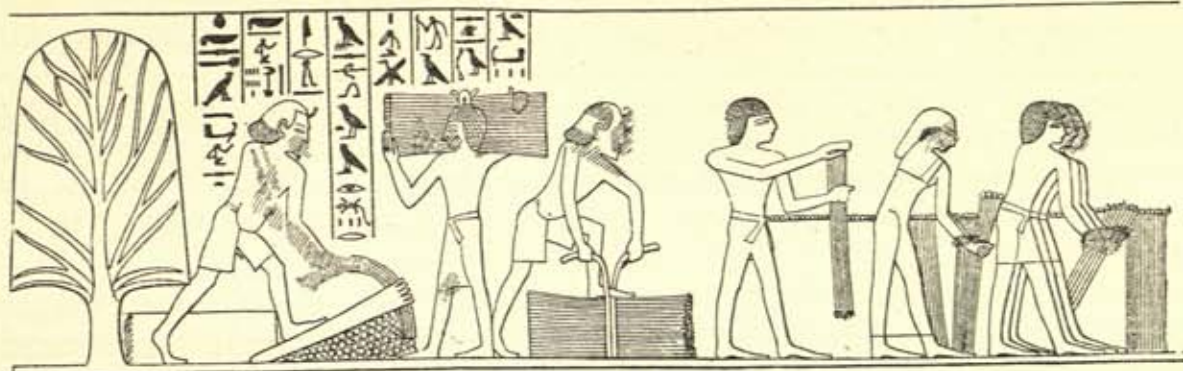


FIG. 1. Incidents of the flax harvest.

best, is found already in the Pyramid Texts (401 a):  the grasper of the forelocks who is thou, O (god) Hau (?), is he who lassoes them² for Onnos.

We conclude, accordingly, that the scribes and sculptors responsible for the inscriptions on the walls of the Old Kingdom pyramids, when they referred to some act of 'cutting down' or 'slaughter' (*šr*, *šrt*), had before their mind's eye the familiar sight of field-workers decapitating the recently gathered flax. Since the bolls fell in their hundreds, here we have a somewhat gruesome pictorial metaphor for a kind of mass-murder. But this is not the only case in which recollection of the flax-harvest suggested to the Egyptians an image for the Pharaoh's treatment of his enemies; just as the stalks had to be 'bound together', so too the captured foreigners had to be 'bound' to one another at the foot of their conqueror's throne. The same verb *dm* (see *Wb.* v, 451) is used in both contexts, its determinative clearly depicting a tied bundle of flax, see in my Sign-list  (M38) for the Old Kingdom and  (M36) for Middle Egyptian. In Old Kingdom tombs    *dm* *mh* (?) 'binding the flax' is found as legend to the scene of that operation³ and in inscriptions of the time of Tuthmosis III we read                                     

¹ The passage is quoted *in extenso* in my note on Semseru in *JEA* 29, 75.

² I.e. the men and gods whom King Onnos proposes to eat. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, II, 156, rightly compares the temple-scenes in question, but neither he nor other translators of the passage (JEA 10, q8-q) render *imi·k Hrw* as I have suggested here.

³ Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée*, 197.

* *Urk.* IV. 612, 15.

³ ZÄS 46, 56, Fig. 22.

THE MEANING OF $\dagger \circ$ *nd* AND *nd-hr*

By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

I

THE *Wörterbuch* gives the transliteration *nd* for as many as eleven words. Of these, five are verbs to which are assigned the meanings 'grind', 'ask', 'confer', 'punish', and 'protect'. The last two are tentatively connected by means of the expression 'vgl. das folg. Wort.' It is with this last word that we shall be mainly concerned here.

It is a word of very common occurrence in the Pyramid Texts. Seventeen examples from this source are quoted in the *Belegstellen* of the *Wörterbuch*. Speleers in his index¹ of the texts cites forty-nine.² The *Wörterbuch* cannot, of course, be blamed for not quoting all the instances from the Pyramid Texts. Reasons of space alone would forbid that. Indeed, as sixty instances in all are quoted, the word has been generously dealt with.

The word is written in the Pyramid Texts in three chief ways: $\overline{\text{†}}$, $\dagger$, and $-\dagger$. This is the order of frequency. Occasional variants are $-\dagger\overline{\text{†}}$ and $\dagger\overline{\text{†}}$. The determinative — first appears in P. Ebers, I, 7-8; and from then on the word is commonly written in the forms $\dagger\circ$, $\dagger$, $\dagger$, $\dagger\circ$. It will be seen, therefore, that the statement of the *Wörterbuch* 'Det. gern — ' calls for the reservation that no determinative of any kind appears in the numerous examples of the word in the Pyramid Texts.³ The statement 'Schreibung wie bei *nd* "fragen"' is broadly true, save that the common writing $\dagger$ is thus ignored.

'Schützen' is the meaning given; and it is somewhat remarkable that this firmly contradicted the meaning 'avenge' which not a few scholars had previously given the word.⁴ What is still more remarkable is that the rendering 'avenge' has vigorously persisted even after the publication of this volume of the *Wörterbuch* in 1928.⁵

¹ *Traduction, Index et Vocabulaire des Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes*, 343.

² Of these, two are 'Ergänzungen', but in several others, as the reference is to sections, there is more than one example.

³ The same is true of the example in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, l. 28.

⁴ Sethe, *Verbum* (1899), I, § 367 ('"rächen" o. ä'); id., *Urk.* II (1904), 189, 4 ('Ptolemaios der Rächer Aegyptens' for a phrase in the Rosetta Stone, R 6, in spite of the Greek τοῦ ἐπαμύναντος τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ; Spiegelberg wrote in the margin of his copy, which is now in my possession, 'Retter Aegyptens'); H. Schäfer, *Unters.* IV (1904), 2, 30; 'Ich rächte den Wenem-nefru', although on p. 21 the same verb is translated by 'helfen'; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (1912), 29, 30, 35; T. G. Allen, *Horus in the Pyramid Texts* (1916), 18 (A 50); 27 (D 15), etc.; A. Rusch in *ZÄS* 60 (1925), 23.

⁵ Sethe, *Unters.* 10 (1928), 31; Piankoff, *Le 'Cœur' dans les Textes Égyptiens* (1930), 60 ('venger', of which E. M. Guest stated in *Anc. Egypt*, 1933, 115, that it was a 'usage now abandoned by most scholars'); Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (1933), 102; L. Speleers, *Comment faut-il lire les Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes?* (1934), 5, n. 1, is doubtful ('Hor qui venge (protège) son père'); Sethe, *Üb. Komm. Pyr.* (1935), III, 103, although in III, 177, he adds the meaning given by the *Wb.* as a possible alternative; Mercer, *Horus Royal God of Egypt* (1942), 128; Scharff, *Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des Alten Reiches* (Sitzungsb. München, 1947, Heft 4), 33, talks of Horus becoming 'Rächer seines Vaters' (Harendotes)—he is translating, of course, the phrase *nd it-f* on which the form Ἀπειδώτης is based; Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 4.

The origin of this long-continuing heresy is not easy to trace, although the reason for it seems fairly clear. It is with the action of Horus in relation to his father Osiris that the majority of the references are concerned. The phrase *nd it·f*, where *nd* according to the *Wörterbuch* is used as a noun,¹ has to do with the same action. Plutarch² states that when Horus was asked what he held to be the most noble of all things, he replied τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ τιμωρεῖν κακῶς παθοῦσιν. But he does not stress the avenging element in the role of Horus. In Chapter 27 he uses the word τιμωρός of Isis. Emphasis on Horus as an avenger is likewise absent from the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus; and it was the Greek of the Rosetta Stone which enabled Sir J. G. Wilkinson³ to say in 1841 that 'the peculiar and distinguishing title of the younger Horus is "the supporter or defender of his father, Osiris" '.

There is little doubt, as Schäfer⁴ pointed out, that it was the context of vengeance in the Egyptian references to the Osirian myth that suggested the rendering 'avenge'. The word is sometimes used, in these references, before an allusion to the punishment meted out to enemies. 'The Great Ennead *nd* thee', says a spell⁵ addressed to Osiris-King. It goes on: 'They have placed for thee thine enemies beneath thee.' Another example⁶ suggests this meaning more pointedly: 'I am Horus who *nd*'d his father. I have smitten for thee him who smote thee.'

Schäfer, in the work which I have cited, is discussing the first occurrence of the word in the well-known Stela of Ikhnofret, where mention is made (l. 17) of the procession of Wepwawet 'when he goes forth to *nd* his father'. Wepwawet is here clearly in the role usually assigned to Horus, but Schäfer thinks *nd* has a wider meaning in this example than in the later one (l. 21) where Ikhnofret says, 'I *nd*'d Onnophris'.

As an argument against taking 'avenge' as the usual meaning, Schäfer states that the verb is sometimes applied to things. He provides, as an instance of this use, a quotation from the Pyramid Texts (§ 1656 a-c): 'He *nd*'s this K., he *nd*'s this pyramid of K., he *nd*'s this construction of his, from all the gods, from all the dead.' This instance is unfortunately complicated by the statement which soon follows (§ 1647 a-b), identifying the King, his construction, and his pyramid, with Osiris.⁷ Perhaps a better example is to be found in those statements which represent the injured eye of Horus as being the recipient of the action, as when the King is addressed,⁸ 'Thou art Thoth who *nd*'d it (the eye), thou art not Seth who seized it.' It might be argued that Thoth stands in the same relation to the injured eye of Horus as he does to Horus himself, and that this relation is that of an avenger.⁹ Such an identification of the eye and its possessor is not convincing, even when one remembers the extensive symbolism to which the injured eye of Horus is subjected. Further, *it* in the sentence quoted seems to demand

¹ *Pyr.* § 633 b suggests that it is a verb: 'He (Horus) *nd*'s thee (Osiris-K.) in his name of "Horus", the (or, a) son who *nd*'s (or, *nd*'d, past) his father.' Cf. § 898 a-b.

² *De Iside et Osiride*, 19.

³ *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1 (second series), 398-9.

⁴ *Unters.* IV, 2, 21-2, following Wiedemann in *Rec. trav.* 20, 34.

⁵ *Pyr.* § 626 c-d. Cf. § 1628 a-b.

⁶ *Pyr.* § 1685 a (M).

⁷ Cf. Carl Wilke, *Zum Personifikation von Pyramiden*, *ZÄS* 70, 71.

⁸ *Pyr.* § 2213 d. Cf. § 1233 b.

⁹ Cf. *Pyr.* § 575 b: 'He (Horus) has made Thoth cause the followers of Seth to retreat for thee (Osiris-K.).'

a simpler antithesis, something like 'save'. (If the eye was seized, it was not protected; but it was saved by Thoth after being seized.)

Another clear example of the application of the word to an object, in such a way as to exclude the meaning 'avenge', occurs in a sentence¹ addressed to the goddess Tayt. She is asked to *nd* the head of the King, 'so that it may not loosen itself'. She is then asked, 'Collect thou his bones that they may not loosen themselves'. This, then, is a request for protection against dismemberment after burial.

A further argument against the meaning 'avenge' is that the verb often has as its object a person or persons who do not, mythologically or in fact, require to be avenged. Thus the King is exhorted to *nd* his children and guard himself.² In a short spell addressed to the King we find the words,³ 'A great one (?) comes to *nd* his son'. Other recipients of the action are the gods,⁴ the Sun-god,⁵ and the poor man.⁶ It may be added that *db*⁷ supplied the meaning 'avenge' in Egyptian, although I have not seen an example in Old Egyptian.

The *Wörterbuch* is right, therefore, in rejecting 'avenge'. Probably also, the meaning 'protect' is near the mark. In many cases, however, as in one⁸ which we have already discussed, a slightly stronger or more active sense seems necessary, namely 'save' or 'rescue'.

An interesting example⁹ has *nd* apparently parallel with *nḥm* 'rescue': 'He has rescued thee from thine enemy, he has *nd*'d thee as one who has been *nd*'d in his timely hour.' Like *nḥm*, *nd* is regularly followed in the Pyramid Texts by the preposition *m-r*.¹⁰ It is not until the Ptolemaic period that *nd* is followed by *r*.¹¹ But it should be noted that both *hwi* and *mki* 'protect' are followed by the same prepositions.¹² The preposition *m-r* is used, in addition, after *hnm* 'embrace' when it implies protection,¹³ and after *sdh* 'conceal' when it has the same implication.¹⁴

The meaning 'save' is certainly hard to avoid in the interpretation of those numerous occurrences of the verb which are connected with the myth of Osiris. As we have seen, the verb is used to describe the favourable action done to Osiris by Horus. Others are occasionally described as benefiting Osiris or Osiris-King with this action—Geb,¹⁵ Isis and Nephthys,¹⁶ the gods,¹⁷ and the Great Ennead.¹⁸ In the case of Isis and Nephthys, and in that of the gods, it is Horus who causes them to *nd*; and one reference¹⁹ describes

¹ *Pyr.* § 739 a.

² *Pyr.* § 221 b.

³ *Pyr.* § 224 c. The reference is not certain. Perhaps it is to Osiris in relation to the Horus-King.

⁴ De Buck, *Coffin Texts*, I, 294 h.

⁵ *Hymnen an das Diadem*, 9, 3, the Sun-god being referred to as the father of the uraeus-serpent.

⁶ *Bk. Dead* (Naville), 182, 4. For other examples see *Wb.* s.v.

⁷ The two words occur in a text from the temple of Edfu edited by Blackman and Fairman in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 1941, 404 and fig. 4. The translation there given is 'Horus of Behdet, Protector of his Father in Behdet, who exacteth retribution (*db*) from his enemies in Retribution-Town (*Dbw*) . . .'

⁸ *Pyr.* § 2213 d.

⁹ *Pyr.* 649 b-c.

¹⁰ *Pyr.* §§ 268 a, 290 c, 594 c, 1033 c, 1334 a, 1656 b-c, 1685 b, 2116 c.

¹¹ *Wb.* II, 374, 5.

¹² *Wb.* III, 244, 13, 14; *Wb.* II, 160, 2, 3.

¹³ *Wb.* III, 378, 4. 'Nut guards (*hnm*) thee from (*m-r*) every evil' (*Pyr.* § 825 c).

¹⁴ *Pyr.* §§ 777 a, 825 b. See also *Wb.* IV, 371, 10.

¹⁵ *Pyr.* § 1033 c: 'Osiris, arise for thy father Geb, that he may *nd* thee from Seth.'

¹⁶ *Pyr.* § 584 a-c.

¹⁷ *Pyr.* § 578 a.

¹⁸ *Pyr.* § 1628 a (N).

¹⁹ *Pyr.* § 973 a.

Horus and Geb coming together to the injured Osiris. Now it is clear that Horus and his helpers are not represented as having *protected* Osiris. They did not prevent him from being cast down in Gehesti. What they did was to find Osiris there and *save* him from his plight. The following passage (*Pyr.* §§ 1683 *a*–1685 *b*) seems to indicate this meaning clearly. It is a speech of Horus.

'Arise for me, my father, arise for me, Osiris-King. It is I. I am thy son, I am Horus. I am come to thee that I may purify thee and cleanse thee. I make thee live, O father King. I gather thy bones together for thee, I collect thy soft parts for thee, I gather thy dismembered parts together for thee. For I am Horus who *nd*'d his father. I have smitten for thee him who smote thee. I have *nd*'d thee, my father, from him who did evil against thee.'

It is true that there is here a reference to the punishment of the enemy; but what is emphasized is revivification and funerary security, on the pattern of Osiris: being saved from death and dismemberment.¹

A more unusual context is found in an allusion² to the action of the Ennead in *nd*-ing Osiris in the House of the Prince. Here the reference is probably to a legal vindication,³ but the verb will bear the same meaning. There is one occurrence in the Pyramid Texts (§ 592 *c*) where 'avenge' seems at first sight to give a better sense than either 'protect' or 'save': 'It is Horus who will *nd* what Seth hath done to thee.' 'Protect' is impossible here, nor is the 'bestrafen' of the *Wörterbuch* (II, 374, 3) plausible. Sethe remarks that 'make good' or 'compensate' seems the required meaning. Such a meaning is a natural extension of 'save', in the sense of 'redeem'.

We have seen that ἐπαμύνω is used to translate *nd* in the Rosetta Stone.⁴ It is strange that this is not the invariable rendering. The expression 𓂏𓂏 appears in two places as θεοὶ σωτῆρες in the Greek.⁵ The same Greek equivalent for it occurs in other texts of the Ptolemaic period, including the Decree of Canopus.⁶

It is likely that the two meanings, 'save' and 'protect', closely related as they are, can be denoted by *nd*. The verb is sometimes applied to persons or things which are not represented as having been attacked or maltreated. It is used, for example, of the King's action towards his land and people or towards a god.⁷ In these cases 'protect' seems the likely meaning, although the common concept of the living King as Horus reminds us that the other meaning may be present, in the sense that the King is the past or potential Saviour. One might compare the use of Σωτήρ in Greek as an epithet of Zeus and other protecting deities such as Apollo, Hermes, Asclepios, and Τύχη.

¹ Cf. *Pyr.* § 582 *c*–*d* ('Hail, Osiris-K.' Horus has *nd*'d thee. He has done (it?) to his ka which is in thee, that thou mayest be content in thy name of Contented Ka'); §§ 898 *a*–899 *a* ('Isis bewails thee, Hathōr salutes thee, like Horus who *nd*'d his father Osiris. The son *nd*'d his father. Horus has *nd*'d this K., Osiris lives, the spirit which is in Nedyet lives. This K. lives'); §§ 758 *c*–759 *b* ('The son *nd*'d his father, Horus *nd*'d Osiris. Horus *nd*'d this K. from his enemies. Arise, O K., *nd*'d, equipped as a god, arrayed in the form of Osiris on the throne of Khentamenthes'); § 1610 *a* ('Recitation. Osiris-K., protected (*mkw*), *nd*'d, living').

² *Pyr.* § 215 *c* — 𓂏𓂏 is probably perfective passive participle.

³ Cf. *Pyr.* § 956 *a* ff.

⁴ *Urk.* II, 189, 8–9, referred to above; also II, 174, 1 where ὁ ἐπαμύνων τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀσίρει translates *ind it f Wsir*.

⁵ *Urk.* II, 171, 2; 189, 1.

⁶ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 917 = *Wb.* II, 375, 2; *Urk.* II, 133, 6.

⁷ See *Wb.*, s.v. and s. the nouns *nd* and *ndty*.

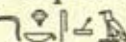
The connexion with Horus is once expressly invoked when *nd* is used (as a noun) to describe Rameses II—'beneficent *nd* like Horus'.¹

Either meaning seems possible in *Peasant*, 144;² but 'save' is more appropriate in the example from Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*,³ where reference is made to the restoration of fallen buildings.

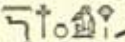
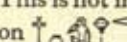
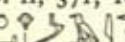
II

It would be pleasant to be able to point to affinities of meaning which would enable this verb *nd* to be related to one or more of the other verbs which are similarly (if not identically) written. One contribution towards this elucidation can be made with some confidence. The *Wörterbuch*'s separate listing of *nd* 'bestrafen' is unnecessary, since the first two examples quoted, where *nd* denotes an action done to 'enemies' (*Amduat*, I, 28) and to 'the followers of Seth' (Mariette, *Dendérah*, III, 35 a) should clearly be classified under *nd* 'to grind'. A metaphorical use already classified thereunder (p. 370, B, a) is 'vom Zermalmen der Glieder des Bösen'. As for the other alleged example of 'bestrafen' (*Pyr.* § 592 c), it can more feasibly be claimed as an example of *nd* 'to save', as we have already seen.

What is the meaning of *nd* in the common phrase *nd hr* 'to greet'? A significant variant of *nd it·f*, used of Horus as saviour of his father, is *nd hr it·f* (*Wb.* II, 375 (6), thirteen examples of which are cited in the *Belegstellen*); similarly *ndty hr it·f* is a frequent variant of *ndty it·f* (*Wb.* II, 376 (11)). The word *hr* in these phrases is regularly written as the noun, and not as the preposition, corresponding to its use in the phrase *nd hr* 'to greet'. Now it seems very unlikely that *nd hr it·f* means 'the greeter of his father'. It can hardly diverge in meaning from the more common form of the phrase where the *hr* is omitted. One is consequently forced to believe that *nd hr* 'to greet' means, in the first place, 'to save (the face of)', and that the original meaning persisted strongly enough to allow *nd hr it·f* to be an expression synonymous with *nd it·f*.

In the Pyramid Texts the expression *nd hr* 'to greet' is frequently used with the prothetic *i*, e.g. § 258 a *††* , where it might be the imperative, meaning literally, 'Save thy face, *Si!*'. *Nd* is described by Sethe in his *Verbum* (III, 23) as '2 rad. (urspr. III inf.)', and in favour of the postulated origin is the geminating participial form in *Pyr.* § 649 c. According to Gardiner (*Eg. Gramm.*, § 336), 'in Old Egyptian the prothetic *i* is often found with imperatives of the 2-lit. class'; in the case of *nd* this *i* occurs in one instance where the verb is clearly indicative.⁴ That the verb is consistently indicative, and not imperative, in this phrase is shown by examples in

¹ See *Wb.* II, 374, 16.

²  Gardiner in *JEA* 9, 13 ('take counsel for the poor man') took it to be another verb. In favour of his interpretation is the fact that while the determinative  occurs sometimes with *nd* 'protect', it is common with *nd* 'question' or 'take counsel', as with the connected verb *ndnd*. The context is slightly more favourable, however, to the rendering 'protect'. So is the use of *hr* after the verb. This is not infrequent with *nd* 'protect', but does not apparently occur with *nd* 'question' except in the expression *†*  (*Wb.* II, 371, 10). A similar sentence occurs in *Bk. Dead* (Naville), 182, 4 (1a), quoted *Wb.* II, 374, 12. (*†* ) where the absence of the determinative  seems decisive in favour of *nd* 'protect'.

³ I, 235, quoted *Wb.* II, 375, 16.

⁴ *Pyr.* § 2035 b.

the 3rd person like *Pyr.* § 2035 *b* ('K. *nd*'s the face of his father Rēc') and by the way in which the phrase is treated in the passive, as in *Pyr.* § 2042 *a* ('Thy face is *nd*'d by Sokar', although *in* might possibly mean *inquit* here). Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 272 also takes the view that the verb is indicative, but he believes that here is 'a formula which perhaps originally meant "I salute thy face" '.

The meaning 'save' would not be inapposite in a formula of greeting. A similar idea is present in the Hebrew phrase *שאל לך שלום* 'to ask after your health', i.e. 'salute you', although it so happens that there is a more precise parallel to this idiom in another Egyptian phrase, namely, *nd hrt*, 'ask after the condition of', and so 'greet'. In Greek *σώζεις* and *σώζοισθε* are occasionally found as a farewell greeting, but the best parallels are the Latin *salve* and *saluto*.

It is not hard to suggest why *hr* should be used with *nd* in the phrase for 'to greet'. The face was the significant part of the personality of man or god; and later, by synecdoche, *hr* was used for the whole person, especially in the phrase *hr nb*, 'everybody'.¹

¹ See *Wb.* III, 130; Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.* § 103; and Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, 113-14, where it is noted that the use of *hr* in this phrase is not metaphorical.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HIEROGLYPHS

An article by the late PROFESSOR F. LL. GRIFFITH, *The Centenary of Egyptology*, published in *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 2, 1922, and reprinted by kind permission of *The Times*.

HISTORY is generally divided into ancient, medieval, and modern; and while modern history develops forward day by day, ancient history has of late spread backwards with research by centuries at a time. Some distinctive term ought to be devised for the record of events in periods beyond the ken of Greek and Latin writers. For this, a hundred years ago, the only authorities were a few doubtful lists of names, dates, and events; together with Homer, Herodotus, and Diodorus on the one hand and the data of Holy Writ on the other. Professor Breasted, of Chicago, surveying the early history of man back to the beginning, summarizes it as the 'New Past'. We might perhaps employ the term 'archaic history' for the narrative of events and movements along with the chronology and cultural development of the Nearer East earlier than the Persian Empire; we might even lower the 'archaic' starting-point so that 'ancient' history would begin with Alexander, whose conquests opened the Eastern world to a certain amount of observation and inquiry as well as to the vigorous influences of the West. The other terminus of this 'archaic' history would be defined for each country as the point after which written record can no longer aid the investigator. Beyond it there lies the prehistoric, to which investigation can still labour to restore from material unwritten remains a history of civilization, art, and invention, and of the movements of races.

Pre-history may be studied in the antiquities of every land, excluding only certain islands never inhabited before modern times and the uninhabitable Arctic and Antarctic regions. The domain of archaic history, on the other hand, is of limited area. It can be found in China and in India, but in the main it centres round the junction of the three continents of the Old World; and its distinctive sources are mainly in hieroglyphic and cuneiform writings, the Phoenician script and its congeners contributing but little. The cuneiform, first deciphered in trilingual Persian, 'Susian', and Babylonian texts, is ever opening up a wider circle of nations and languages in Eastern Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and the highlands of ancient Elam. Hieroglyphic picture writing, apart from the still undeciphered scripts of Crete and the Hittites (if Hittite be the correct label), is almost confined to the Nile valley and the Egyptian language; but within these boundaries it has a vast literature and a rich archaeology, which brilliantly illuminate each other and reflect their light upon all the lands of the Nearer East. We now discern more clearly, year by year, the parts played by the great nations of antiquity and their mighty men upon that stage at the junction of the continents—the monumental, artistic, religious Egyptians; the legally-minded, business-loving Sumerians and Babylonians; and the warlike, cruel Assyrians and Elamites. And we are beginning to learn of another great race, or complex of races, possessing remarkable characteristics, the Cappadocian Hittites, their empire subject to a mild and beneficent

rule which, according to Dr. Forrer, gave credit to each individual for his particular contribution to the common weal.

It was into the Egyptian realm that the first strong ray of light was thrown by modern research; and here a choice of events appropriate for centenary celebration presents itself, beginning with the discovery of the trilingual Rosetta Stone by Napoleon's expedition in 1799. The year 1802 has a double record in the decipherment of ancient writings, for it was then that the Swede Åkerblad deciphered several words in the demotic-Egyptian version of the Rosetta Stone, and Grotefend at Göttingen brilliantly guessed the names of the Achaemenid kings in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian Empire. In 1819 Thomas Young, the versatile physicist, gave some partially correct interpretations of words and groups in hieroglyphic. But it was not till 1822 that logically incontrovertible reading of Egyptian hieroglyphs began. Once in possession of a definite clue, Champollion's genius proceeded with the utmost rapidity from point to point. In less than ten years he obtained approximate values for most of the multitudinous hieroglyphs, both phonetic and 'determinative', established the names and succession of a host of kings, and compiled a large vocabulary; above all, he could recognize the general meaning of most of the inscriptions that he met with, whether in monumental hieroglyphic or in cursive hieratic or demotic. Disease struck him down at the early age of forty-one in the midst of his pioneering and granted no respite for final co-ordination of results. Moreover, Champollion left no pupil systematically trained to carry on his work; in consequence, much that he had discovered lay unutilized amongst his papers, only to be recognized after new generations of Egyptologists had perfected his beginnings.

Jean François Champollion-le-Jeune was born on December 23, 1790, at Figeac, in the Département du Lot, the youngest child of a bookseller whose business was ruined by the Revolution. His very capable brother, Jacques Joseph Champollion-Figeac, was twelve years older, and soon took the place of both mother and father to the impetuous François. The latter, like most Egyptologists, showed his predilection early—in fact, the germ of his interest in Egypt may be traced back to the tender age of eleven, when he began seriously to learn Hebrew and Arabic. As a student at Grenoble he applied himself to the study of ancient history (of which subject he became professor in the university at eighteen), together with Coptic, the extinct language of Egyptian Christianity, and all alphabets and systems of writing that might lead to the desired goal, the decipherment of the Rosetta Stone.

While his brother became a worshipper of Imperial Napoleon, François retained his enthusiasm for 'freedom', and needed all the protection and help that Jacques could give. After 1813 his situation and prospects became well-nigh desperate, with only a flash of great hope at the beginning of the Hundred Days. In 1816 jealousies and party strife, and no doubt the results of his own rash acts, writings, and lampoons, drove the democrat and anti-clerical, now a proscribed suspect, in banishment from Grenoble to his native town of Figeac. There he turned schoolmaster. In 1817 he was back in Grenoble, conducting a school and becoming librarian of the local Académie des Sciences. He was deprived of these posts in 1820, and sought refuge with his brother,

who was established in Paris. To the end of his life Champollion was constantly in hot water, violently attacked by some and enthusiastically admired by others, even when he had abandoned the dangerous game of politics to devote himself wholly to Egyptological research and the increase of the Louvre collection.

Whereas Champollion was a specialist with a single aim determined from his boyhood, his English rival in decipherment, Thomas Young, was a man of exceptionally wide attainments, who had made a European reputation in science long before he touched Egypt. Young was born in 1773 and brought up in the strictest Quaker principles. He early learnt many languages, including Hebrew and Arabic, was a good classic, and mastered mathematics and the physical sciences; but he chose medicine for his career, studying in Edinburgh and Göttingen. While in Edinburgh in 1793 he had already carried out such important researches on the eye that he was made F.R.S. in the following year. In 1799, though now of independent means, he settled down to practise as a physician in Welbeck Street. In 1801 he was appointed Professor of Physics to the Royal Institution; and his lectures there embodied profound original discoveries in optics and the undulatory theory of light. In 1802 he was elected foreign secretary of the Royal Society. He seems to have attained only moderate success as a practising physician, being probably too conscientious to convince his patients; but in view of marriage he took his profession with almost Quixotic seriousness, resigned his professorship in 1803, and for twenty years published his writings (other than medical) only under the cover of pseudonymic initials. At length in 1814, at the age of forty-one (the age at which Champollion died), Young, always ready to try a new puzzle, turned his attention for the first time to Egyptian. In May he sent some comments on hieroglyphic and hieratic papyri, published and unpublished, to the Society of Antiquaries, with a copy of some fragments which his friend, W. R. Boughton, had recently bought in Egypt. He already grasped the fact that the hieratic system of writing, with which he included demotic, was identical with the hieroglyphic; he approved of Åkerblad's readings of the demotic as far as they went, and he considered that for decipherment ideas derived from Greek authorities, comparisons with Oriental alphabets, and other external evidences were of no practical use, but that the Egyptian documents must be interpreted by their own evidence.

This principle he put into practice immediately by an intensive study of the Egyptian versions of the Rosetta Stone. Of the hieroglyphic text only about one-third survived, and all the lines were imperfect, while the demotic and Greek texts were nearly complete. Starting with the more obvious points of contact, proper names, etc., and proceeding with a most careful examination of the repetitions of groups, he was able to divide up the Egyptian versions into words with considerable success and to equate them with the Greek. In November he appended to his former paper a conjectural translation of these two versions. De Sacy had been the first to point out in the demotic the groups for three proper names—namely, Ptolemy, Alexander, and Alexandria; Åkerblad in the same year (1802) had analysed these and other names and two or three word-groups into their alphabetic elements, obtaining fifteen alphabetic letters with three numerical figures, and nineteen names and words. Young's additions to the

identified characters were few and unsatisfactory; but his Greek-demotic vocabulary now amounted to eighty-six groups, most of which were correct, though his conjectural readings into sounds or Coptic words were generally, but not always, wrong. In 1816 Young announced further discoveries obtained from other material than the Rosetta Stone in the *Museum Criticum* of Cambridge; in particular, he had identified long parallel texts on papyri (belonging to the Book of the Dead) in hieroglyphic and in hieratic and so established the equivalence of the pictorial and cursive forms of the signs. In 1819 he put together his results with illustrative plates in the article *Egypt*, signed I. J., for the 'Supplement to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'. He was now certain that both demotic and hieroglyphic writing consisted largely of phonetic elements; he had separated out the designations of a large number of deities, very ingeniously but rather luckily identified the cartouche of Berenice in addition to the known one of Ptolemy, and correctly suggested that another cartouche must be that of Manetho's Thuthmosis in the Eighteenth Dynasty. He also pointed out in hieroglyphic the alphabetic characters for *f* and *t*, and the 'determinative' used in late texts for feminine names, and recognized from variants in the papyri that different characters could have the same powers—in short, the principle of homophony. All this was mixed up with many false conclusions, but the method pursued was infallibly leading to definite decipherment.

The first published work of Champollion on Egypt dates from 1814, when he brought out the geographical section of a projected encyclopaedic work, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, containing in two volumes a discussion of the geographical names preserved in ancient authors and in Coptic manuscripts. In the Introduction he professes to have discovered that between the language of the Egyptian alphabetic manuscripts (by which he meant demotic) and Coptic (apart from Greek words adopted into the latter) the only difference is that of the forms of the letters, and states that his efforts to read the Egyptian text of the inscription of Rosetta have been crowned with almost complete success. At that time he was very sanguine and evidently not very critical; and these statements roused in the minds of sound scholars, like De Sacy, the suspicion of charlatanism. Without mentioning Åkerblad, he seems to have accepted his results and opinions, both good and bad, and to have made little, if any, progress beyond. In 1819–20 he applied himself to a minute comparison of the hieratic and hieroglyphic parallels of the Book of the Dead, and produced a special memoir, published in 1821, containing tables of the equivalences; but he now floundered strangely into the conviction that hieroglyphic writing worked symbolically and did not represent sounds. It was at this time that Young's *Encyclopaedia* article was distributed; and it is a matter which has been much debated whether Champollion's subsequent line of research was due in considerable measure to unacknowledged hints obtained from that article. Young always to his death sustained this charge; Champollion denied it. Whether or no Champollion needed such a hint at the start, his subsequent career was one prolonged triumph of decipherment.

Both investigators, more especially Champollion, were baffled and confused by the discordant testimony of the ancient writers as well as by the bad copies of inscriptions

sent home by travellers. An abundance of original material was needed by each investigator to test their hypotheses thoroughly. England, indeed, had acquired by conquest the originals collected by Napoleon's expedition, but apart from these, Egyptian monuments were scarce both in England and in France. Yet each year brought some new thing. The name of Ptolemy (Epiphanes) occurred frequently on the Rosetta Stone in its hieroglyphic cartouche, but that of Cleopatra was unfortunately lost along with the beginning of the inscription. In 1815 W. J. Bankes, exploring the Temple of Philae, had discovered a base block, covered with Greek inscriptions in honour of Ptolemy Physcon and the two Cleopatras, near to a fallen obelisk inscribed in hieroglyphic which seemed to have stood upon it. The two were transported by Belzoni in 1819 to England to adorn Mr. Bankes's park at Kingston Lacy, where they still stand, though sadly shorn of their writing by the English climate. Dr. Young, absorbed in literary and other work of many kinds, had access to copies, but seems to have gained from them only the suggestion that the feminine cartouche accompanying that of Ptolemy belonged to Cleopatra. A lithograph of the Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions was made for Bankes in 1821, and a copy was sent in January 1822 to the Académie des Inscriptions in Paris with Young's suggestion of Cleopatra written against the cartouche by Bankes in pencil. It was immediately forwarded to Letronne and by him to Champollion, who was also in Paris. In the *Revue Encyclopédique* for March 1822 we find a communication from Champollion chiefly to point out that the cartouche of a Ptolemy was upon the obelisk.

But this was the moment, a century ago, which for Champollion turned bewildering investigation into brilliant and continuous decipherment. Now he saw Cleopatra's name in hieroglyphs written in signs which were evidently alphabetic, the letters P O L of *Πτολεμαῖος* placed where they were to be expected in the cartouche of *Κλεοπάτρα*; the T, however, differed in the two names, which detail could be readily explained by the theory of homophones. The two cartouches gave him thirteen alphabetic characters for twelve sounds. Armed with these, and remembering the possibilities of further homophones, Champollion soon deciphered elsewhere the hieroglyphic names of Alexander and his Greek successors and those of the early Roman Emperors.

Here comes a curious detail; the zodiac of Denderah had been somewhat confidently dated by different persons on astronomical grounds to various periods up to 15000 B.C., and fierce discussions involving Biblical chronology had arisen in consequence, so that even the Vatican began to quake. The clerical party, to whom Champollion had long been an object of hatred and suspicion at Grenoble, were ready to acclaim him as protagonist of their cause when he read upon its representation in the *Description de l'Égypte* the imperial Roman title Autocrator in a cartouche. On September 29 was read at the Académie the memorable *Lettre à M. Dacier relative à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonétiques*, in which these discoveries were expounded.

There still remained the distressing probability (as it seemed then) that the alphabet might have been introduced by the Greeks for spelling foreign names, and was but an excrescence on some far more mysterious system of writing which might conceal for ever the wisdom of the Egyptians. About this time Champollion received some drawings

of the reliefs at Abu Simbel. In the cartouches he saw the disk of the sun, named *re* in Coptic, followed by three signs, the last two being the already well-known *s* repeated thus: RE *SS, Ramesses or Rameses in Manetho's list of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties; and the Biblical Ramses, a name which had had a particular attraction for him, leaped at once into view. At the same time he met with a cartouche containing the figure of Thoth followed by the same sign *mes* (the value of which was confirmed by its occurrence in the Rosetta inscription parallel to the Greek *γενεθλια*, easily equated with the Coptic *misi*, *mosi*, 'bear'); this cartouche, therefore, belonged to Manetho's Thuthmosis in the Eighteenth Dynasty. (As a matter of fact, Young had already in his *Encyclopaedia* article conjecturally identified this cartouche with Thuthmosis on the strength of the figure of Thoth occurring in it; but so far no proof of its correctness had been forthcoming, and the rest of Young's conjectures regarding Pharaonic names were utterly wide of the mark.)

Thus at last Champollion was assured that the alphabetic characters of his Ptolemaic cartouches were used similarly in distant Pharaonic times; and, further, the variant spellings of the name of Ramesses were particularly instructive at this stage. The path to success in the interpretation of the ancient Egyptian records was now clearly defined; only plenty of material and long years of well-directed diligence were needed to complete the victory. In less than eighteen months from the reading of the cartouche of Cleopatra, the wonderful *Précis du système hiéroglyphique* appeared, crammed with the results of new decipherments, admirably arranged. Just before this Louis XVIII, pressed by the Duc de Blacas, a member of the ancient aristocracy of France to whom archaeology owes a deep debt of gratitude, had forgiven Champollion his youthful Republican errors. There resulted a mission to Italy to study the great Drovetti collection of monuments and papyri in Turin (June 1824 to November 1825), immediately followed by another mission, occupying most of the following year, to report on and acquire for the Louvre a second Drovetti collection at Leghorn. From this Champollion returned as Conservator of the Egyptian Collections. Finally, a joint French and Tuscan mission headed by Champollion and his pupil Rosellini, each with six assistant architects and draughtsmen, was dispatched to Egypt in August 1828. After thoroughly examining the monuments from Alexandria to the Second Cataract, the expedition returned in December 1829 with full portfolios and considerable collections of originals.

The decipherer now possessed all the material he could desire for the work of a lifetime; day and night he had laboured at Thebes and other monumental sites, copying and deciphering till his strength was well-nigh exhausted. In his own home his complexion and his turn of mind had earned for him from boyhood the sobriquet of *l'Égyptien*; the climate of Egypt suited him exactly, and his enthusiasm and lively spirits were unconquerable, so that his health at the end of the voyage down the Nile was excellent. But, reaching France in the middle of a very severe winter, and subjected to a miserable and relentless quarantine of thirty-one days at Toulon, he arrived in Paris with his constitution grievously injured. Here he found bitter opponents, old and new; in May 1830, however, his friends triumphed; he was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions, and in March 1831 the first Chair of Egyptology was constituted for

him at the Collège de France. But Champollion's work was almost over. A few months later he was smitten with apoplexy, and on March 3, 1832, he died.

What, meanwhile, had Young been doing? In 1819 he formed a small Syro-Egyptian society¹ amongst his friends for publishing *Hieroglyphics*, the first fasciculus of which appeared in that year. In November 1822 he had the good fortune to discover the 'Grey antigraph', an official Greek translation of a demotic papyrus in Paris recording the sale by one cemetery priest to another of a share in the services to be performed for certain mummies, with a long list of their names. In 1823 he published under his own name *Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature*, an account of his work on the Rosetta Stone and the demotic papyri, professedly in order to claim for himself and for England her due share of credit in the solution of the Egyptian riddle, and apparently (from the last words of the preface) as a farewell to the subject. The second fasciculus of *Hieroglyphics* contained facsimiles of the antigraph and all the related papyri, and Young's parallel texts of the Rosetta Stone. In a letter to Sir William Gell on September 13 he stated that he intended to give up the scheme of Egyptological publication for three reasons—the expense of publication, the exhaustion of the material, the fact that 'Champollion is doing so much that he will not suffer anything of material consequence to be lost'—unless an offer made by the Royal Society of Literature to carry it on for him proved acceptable. Young had always many irons in the fire, and thenceforth, although he continued to superintend *Hieroglyphics* under the new auspices, he attempted no more decipherments. But his last work, completed on his death-bed, in 1829, was to prepare for publication his collection of datings, words, and names in demotic in a small dictionary.

In 1833 Champollion's manuscripts were purchased by the Government from his widow and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The only complete manuscript was the 'Grammaire Égyptienne', which François had laboured in his illness to prepare for the press. It was very extensive, and comprised, first, his theory and classification of the hieroglyphic signs, with their values and their equivalents in hieratic cursive; and secondly, the rendering in hieroglyphic signs of the different parts of speech, with the conjugation of verbs and declension of nouns, much of it illustrated by phrases taken from the monuments. It was a wonderful piece of work, and was printed by Figeac exactly as it stood in the manuscript. But though complete in design and marvellously rich in material, inconsistencies in detail and one or two notes for unfilled headings show how far it was from satisfying the author's ideals when the pen fell from his skilful hand and his teeming brain could no longer find expression. The *Grammaire* was published in 1838. Materials for a dictionary also existed in loose sheets, to which his brother now made large additions and corrections from the *Grammaire*. Figeac was naturally puzzled how to arrange them, but decided on the plan (which probably would have received Champollion's approval) of putting the hieroglyphic words in order of the initial signs, these signs being classified according to their pictorial nature as human beings, animals, birds, etc., as in the *Grammaire*.

¹ There is a slight error here. The society formed by Young was called simply The Egyptian Society, as the printed prospectus attests. The Syro-Egyptian Society was a later creation, founded in 1844, and it continued until 1872 when it was merged in the Society of Biblical Archaeology. W. R. Dawson.

Considered as a means of convincing the learned public and guiding the student, these two works had very grave defects. Almost everything at this stage was really tentative and subject to correction, but no line was drawn between reasonable certainty and conjecture. The phonetic transcripts of the groups were given in Coptic characters, suggesting that they were intended to represent Coptic words. At starting, as we have seen, Champollion expected to find that Egyptian writing was to be read into pure Coptic, and so far he had not freed himself entirely from this idea. In reality Coptic is a remote derivative from ancient Egyptian, like French from Latin; in some cases, therefore, Champollion's provisional transcripts produced good Coptic words, while mostly they were more or less meaningless or impossible, and in transcribing phrases either Coptic syntax was hopelessly violated or the order of hieroglyphic words had to be inverted. This was all very baffling and misleading. The supreme value lay in the translations, which were approximately correct.

In 1835 a beginning was made with the publication of the expedition's drawings, and ten years later of the invaluable note-books of Champollion, wherein the monuments were systematically described from the point of view of a student of the inscriptions. The publication of these *Notices descriptives* was unsatisfactory, and was suspended in 1848; and it was not till Gaston Maspero supplemented and completed it in 1870-89 that the full measure of Champollion's attainment in this particular work could be seen. A vast quantity of material still exists in the collection of Champollion's manuscripts, which it would be worth while to examine for the history of the science, even if it should be found to contain no copies of lost inscriptions.

Our knowledge of Champollion's personality would have been slight had not a German lady, Fräulein Hartleben, devoted many years to the task of writing his life. Beginning in 1891, when a nephew, Aimé, and a niece, Zoë, were still able to impart vivid recollections of their uncle, she worked through the masses of correspondence preserved at the Château de Vif and at Grenoble, and produced in 1906 two packed volumes entitled *Champollion, sein Leben und sein Werk*, followed by two volumes of *Lettres et Journaux* concerning the missions to Italy and Egypt. Here we can follow Champollion's career from infancy to the grave, through all the violent political changes and crises which affected his material and intellectual existence. He was no dry-as-dust scholar; he showed himself lively in companionship, playful and fond of children, a leader amongst his comrades, and considerate to his subordinates; sarcastic in controversy unless checked by his brother, confident and magnetically persuasive in personal intercourse.

The fierce opposition to Champollion both in France and abroad was due partly to political and religious prejudices, partly to the vagaries of ingenious minds in upholding their own theories, partly to the contempt which those trained to worship the classics used to entertain for barbarian study; to a certain extent also it was caused by international rivalries. But it must be admitted that his work was never put in a really convincing form. During his short period of successful labour Champollion was too much occupied with amassing material and pushing forward his conquests to consider how best to solidify the ground behind him. If the greedy fates had granted him a few more

years for teaching and for calm study of his collections, he could have convinced friends and neutrals and silenced his enemies by making a chrestomathy of a few of the most telling pieces from the vast heap of material. With such a work in his hands (including, for instance, the hieroglyphic and Greek parallels on the Rosetta Stone and certain scenes or pictures with explanatory inscriptions of obvious import, together with translations, proofs for readings of the best-known signs, and illustrative words from Coptic) the scientific student and attentive reader would have seen the firm ground beneath their feet and have known approximately what was established and what was provisional. The *Lettre à Dacier* and the *Précis*, showing the steps by which Champollion reached his conclusions down to 1824, were slightly revised four years later and reissued in one volume. They thus served as an introduction to the *Grammaire* and *Dictionnaire*. But few of the monuments were yet published, and none who were unacquainted with them could fully realize the cogency of Champollion's arguments. It was not till the talented and judicious Lepsius, highly trained in epigraphy and philology, thoroughly examined the foundations and pronounced them firm (in the *Lettre à M. le Professeur H. Rosellini*, published in the year 1837) that scholars recovered confidence.

The collecting of Egyptian antiquities by governments and private persons had long since been fashionable, and now students at once began to apply themselves to the subject. Champollion's Chair at the Collège de France was soon revived in favour of the able Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé. Birch in London, Brugsch in Berlin, Chabas in Chalons-sur-Saône, Goodwin in Cambridge, were prominent amongst the earliest *epigoni*. Lepsius's colossal *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* supplemented the great publications of monuments by Champollion and Rosellini with accurate though conventionalized copies of scenes and texts of all periods, while Mariette excavated new monuments and founded a great centre of archaeology in Egypt itself. A special journal for Egyptology was launched at Berlin by Brugsch in 1863. Then photography brought its aid to archaeological research. Maspero carried on the work of publication and translation with extraordinary vigour, Erman and Stern revolutionized the study of ancient Egyptian and Coptic grammar, and Flinders Petrie inaugurated scientific excavation. At the present day a host of explorers and professors are at work in every civilized land producing and explaining their discoveries with the most rigorous exactitude. They have long since ceased to quote the authority of Champollion; but each of them is ready to uncover his head at the grave of the pioneer in Père la Chaise and to acclaim the centenary of 1822.



THE STELA OF RUDJ-AHAU

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THE STELA OF RUDJ'AHĀU

By R. O. FAULKNER

AMONG the monuments of the early Middle Kingdom in the collections of the British Museum there is included the stela of a man named , var. , Rudj'ahau, which bears the registration number 159 and the exhibition number 96. This monument, which is of limestone, is round-topped, and measures 5 ft. 2 in. high by 3 ft. 2 in. wide; it is stated to have come from Abydos and to have belonged to the Salt Collection.¹ The upper portion of the stone contains three registers of scenes (pl. VII): the uppermost has an altar decked with the funeral meal, with a servitor before it, and various offerings; the middle scene shows the deceased and his wife seated on a settee with their family parading before them and making offerings; the third depicts episodes of farm-life, a cow being milked, farm-hands bringing vessels to be filled, and a cow suckling its calf. The lower portion of the stela contains the 'biography' of the deceased in twelve lines of text running horizontally from right to left.

The stela has already been published twice, once in a photographic print in *Egyptian Antiquities*, vol. I (an album of photographs published by the British Museum in 1872) and again in a hand-copy by P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, I, pls. 46-7. The earlier publication is relatively inaccessible, while the later copy is unfortunately far from accurate, so it seemed desirable not only to make a fresh photographic reproduction of the monument, but also to re-edit the main text. With this end in view I made many years ago a new hand-copy based upon an examination of the original monument. Various circumstances have combined to delay the publication of my revised copy, but with the kind permission of Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, the text of the biographical inscription is now reproduced here (fig. 1).

The monument bears no date, but it undoubtedly belongs to the Eleventh Dynasty, since it exhibits certain features which are characteristic of the stelae of this period, and indeed it clearly belongs to that group of which the well-known stela of Tjetji² is a prominent example. Polotsky has studied these early Middle Kingdom inscriptions in his book *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1929), and the more outstanding characteristics of our text are detailed below, with references to the relevant sections of Polotsky's book;

 without breast-tuft in *nbꜥw*, l. 6, cf. Polotsky, § 9.

 in the offering formula reversed, l. 1, cf. *ibid.* § 11.

 with loop on top, l. 11, cf. § 13.

 (papyrus-roll determinative) perpendicular in *m-bꜥh*, l. 10, cf. § 29.

 so grouped in  and  l. 11, see also ll. 3. 4. 12, cf. § 30.

 instead of the common  in *hꜣmt*, l. 2; *hꜣm* l. 10, cf. § 35.

¹ *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 29.

² *Brit. Mus.* 614, transl. Blackman, *JEA* 17, 55 ff.

The expressions *ink mr-f nfrt msd-f dwt* 'I was one who loved good and hated evil' (l. 11) with the *sdm-f* form instead of participles, cf. § 44; *ink ir kd-f mrrw rmtt m hrt hrw nt r nb* 'I was one who achieved a good reputation, whom men loved all and every day' (l. 12), cf. § 48; *fnh-ib* 'acute (?)' (l. 7), cf. § 58.

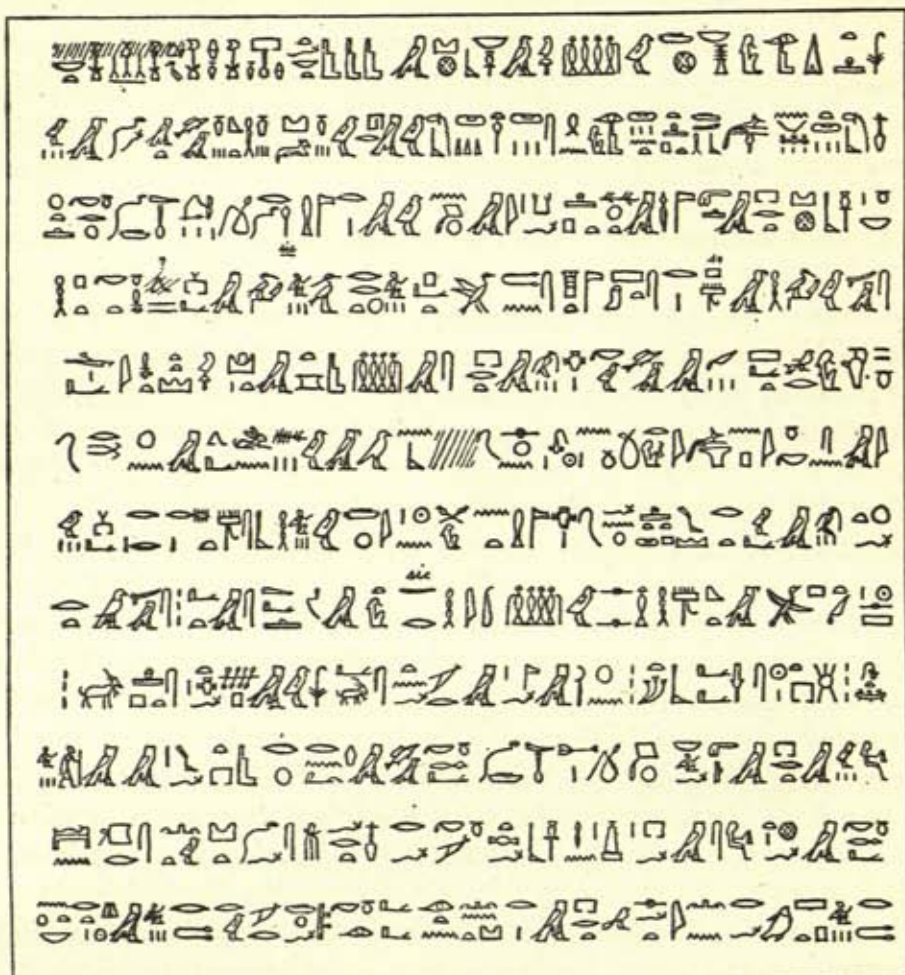


FIG. 1. The Inscription of Rudj'ahau.

The main inscription of the stela, which is not without its difficulties, belongs to that large class of Egyptian texts which we conventionally term 'biographies', but which only too often merely enumerate the more important offices or functions filled by the deceased, the earlier stages of his career being passed over in silence. The present example is particularly uninformative in this respect, as apart from the usual self-laudation we learn only of certain priestly offices and duties which fell to the owner's lot. The translation runs as follows:¹

(1) *A boon which the king grants <to> Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Foremost of those in the West, Lord of Abydos, wherever he may be,*² (namely) *an invocation offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl, a thousand of alabaster and*

¹ The superior letters refer to the notes which follow the translation.

² Or 'in all his aspects'.

clothing, a thousand of all [things] (2) good and pure, bread of Wepwawet, the funerary meal of Osiris, šns-loaves, pure white loaves, jugs of milk, jars of beer; a load of the provisions (3) which belong to the Lord of Abydos, and which are issued in the presence of the Great God after his soul has been satisfied therewith, for the honoured one, the Chief Prophet Rudjrahau, justified.

He said: I was a wise man, (4) a Thoth-like leader,^a who kept silence <concerning> the mysteries of the temple,^b who exalted the patricians over the plebs,^c a Thoth in judgement, <to whom> the Two Lands came (??).^d I was one like unto Ptah, (5) the peer of Khnum, one greatly dreaded among the froward in the procession of the sm(t)-priest,^e one highly placed in the Western Horizon,^f like unto the One (6) in it,^g I was an Anubis-priest and wardrobe-keeper of the linen (??)^h . . . on the day of binding (?) . . .ⁱ carrying-poles,^j swift of hand in apprehending (7) foes in the District of Offerings,^k one who was acute (?),^l prophet of Neith on the day of . . .,^m who kept silenceⁿ concerning the pronouncement of the judges (8) on the day of cutting (?)^o fine linen; one favoured of Him who dwells in Hesret . . .,^p a guide (9) on the Horite ways of the Netherworld^q on the day of erecting bouquets (?),^r who gladdened his god with what he desired,^s who ennobled himself by what his heart received,^t and who propitiated the nobles (10) and dignitaries when going forth from the presence of his lord, the honoured Rudjrahau.

He said: I was a magnate who bent the arm and whose precedence was recognized among the nobles,¹¹ (11) I was great in my city and wealthy in my house, a great pillar of my family. I was one who loved good and hated evil, with whom none ever retired to bed (12) wrathful: there was no deceit which issued from my mouth, and there was no wrong which my hands performed; I was one who achieved a good reputation,¹² whom men loved all and every day.

NOTES

^a *Sšmw Dḥwtj*, lit. 'leader of Thoth', must mean 'a leader partaking of the nature of Thoth', since even the most bombastic Egyptian would scarcely claim to be a guide to the god of wisdom.

^b The preposition *hr* should be supplied after *h:p r*; compare the synonymous expression *h:p ht (hr)*, on which see Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 104.

^c On the *pct* and the *rhyt* see now Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 98* ff., where this passage plays a significant part in the argument.

^d Δ is quite obscure. Damage to the stone has rendered the first sign a little obscure, but if our reading be correct, the group might possibly be a bungle for Δ  $\overline{\text{—}}$ 'to whom the Two Lands came', the scribe having copied the first and last signs only. However, I can quote no other instance of this expression in a parallel context referring to a private person; one would expect it to be confined to royalty.

* The 'procession of the *sm(t)*-priest' is mentioned again *Urk.* IV, 27, 4; on the reading of the priestly title 𓅓 see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 39* ff. The reference to the terror inspired in the froward on this occasion suggests that it partook of the nature of the procession of Wepwawet as described in the stela of Ikhnofret: 'I was . . . a *sm(t)*-priest pure of fingers, I made the procession of Wepwawet when he went to defend his father, I drove off the rebels from the *nšmt*-bark and felled the enemies of Osiris'.

ll. 17 f. = Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 71, 11 ff. This similarity suggests that the 'procession of the *sm(t)*-priest' was a feature of the Osirian Mysteries; it is not impossible that it may have been an alternative name for the 'procession of Wepwawet', on which see Schäfer, *Mysterien des Osiris*, 21 ff. That Rudj^cahau did in fact take part in the Osirian Mysteries is further suggested by later passages in his inscription.

^f 'The Western Horizon' here would seem to be some kind of religious establishment in which Rudj^cahau held an important position, and it is possible that it may signify the Tomb of Osiris and its appurtenances.

^g *Im·sn* should apparently be emended into *im·s*, as the suffix can refer only to the *šht imntt*, which is singular. Perhaps the writer was referring in thought to a multiplicity of chapels or shrines within the sacred precinct. The 'One' here mentioned is presumably Osiris.

^h *šl* is doubtless to be understood as *ššr* 'linen', cf. Gardiner in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 30, 172 ff., for to interpret it as *šs* 'cord' yields no sense. The significance of the fire-sign which follows entirely escapes me.

ⁱ The determinative of *šhn* is not *Q*; it appears exactly like the cord which determines *fnh* in the next line, and which is a variant of *ṛ*. It is therefore possible that *šhn* has here its primitive meaning 'bind together', otherwise known only from *ṛ* = 'float made of reeds bound together', e.g. *Pyr.* 351 a, cf. *JEA* 4, 174 ff.; 17, 53 f. Following *šhn* is a short lacuna of about one square which I cannot restore.

^j For the meaning of *nbw* see *Wb.* II, 243, 5 ff. The context suggests that these poles were used for carrying aloft a portable shrine or sacred image.

^k Here we have apparently another allusion to the repelling of the enemies of Osiris in the celebration of the Mysteries; the expression *wn ṛ* 'swift of hand' does not seem to be found elsewhere. The place-name *Wrt-htpt* which occurs here and on a Copenhagen stela of Intef published in *Rec. trav.* I, 133 f. (l. 6) is probably identical with *ṛ*, which according to *Wb.* I, 288, 4 was a division of the necropolis of Abydos.

^l *Fnh-ib* is a rare epithet which is known elsewhere only on a second stela at Copenhagen belonging to the above-named Intef, *ZÄS* 34, 26 f. (l. 4), and on a third stela of the same man which is in the British Museum (No. 1164, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, I, 55; Lange, *Eine neue Inschrift aus Hermonthis*, in *Sitzb. Berlin*, 1914, 991 ff.). Its sense is not determined with any precision; Polotsky, § 58, suggests 'fest zusammendreht wie ein Strick', with obvious reference to the cord-determinative. There is, however, an Old Kingdom word *fnh* 'carpenter', 'joiner', determined with saw and adze (*Wb.* I, 576, 15), which hints at a root-meaning 'sharp-edged', hence presumably the *Wb.* rendering 'klug o. ä.' (I, 577, 1) for the mental quality *fnh-ib*. This view, it must be admitted, takes no account of the cord-determinative, but the sense thus obtained seems nearer the mark than Polotsky's alternative.

^m The expression 'day of the *idhw*' occurs to my knowledge only here, and it is quite obscure. To take *idhw* as a participle of *dh* 'be sheltered (?)', *Letters to Dead*, I, 3, n. (p. 15)—or 'hide', *JEA* 16, 149—yields no good sense.

ⁿ *Hbs ht* presumably has a similar meaning to *h:p ht* 'keep silence', see above, n.^b, though *Wb.* III, 64, 16 is doubtful.

The name *Rwd-ḥrw* means 'Prevailing of Weapons', a warlike cognomen strangely at variance with its owner's priestly career. Since, as we have seen above, our stela cannot be very far removed in date from that of Tjetji, which belongs to the beginning of the Theban Eleventh Dynasty, there can be little doubt that the name in question is in fact an epithet of a Theban monarch who was presumably at war with the Heracleopolitans; the assumption of a royal epithet as the personal name of a private citizen was a gesture of loyalty very common in Ancient Egypt. There is certainly no hint of military activities in the record of Rudj'ahau, who seems to have been a priest in public life and a farmer or country gentleman in private. That part of his inscription which deals with his priestly duties is unfortunately very obscure, but we have seen reason to think that he took a prominent part in the performance of the Osirian Mysteries.

From the scenes above the main inscription we learn something of Rudj'ahau's entourage, though the legends are roughly cut or even scratched on the stone, in marked contrast to the careful work of the biographical text. The principal scene (middle register) depicts Rudj'ahau and *his beloved wife*  *Idi*, deceased receiving the respects of their servants and family. In front of the pair stand *the butler*  *Weḥaru* (above) and *the butcher*  *Idiōker*, while beneath the butler's arms there has been inserted, apparently as an afterthought, the figure of *his true servant*  *Meru*. Behind the servants stands *his well-beloved son, his heir who succeeds to his place*,¹ *Rudj'ahau*;² he in turn is followed by the sons  *Djadjay*,  *Ibi* and  *Idi*, the liegeman (*ndt*)  *Sitnakhte* (*sic*, a man!), the retainer (*šmsw*)  *Khnemḥotpe* and the daughter  *Nefrāwet*. In the lunette at the top of the stela the liegeman Rudj'ahau tends a table of offerings. The lowermost register contains a farming scene. On the right, in the  *place of calves*,  *his herdsman Iyu* (?) milks the mother of a calf. Approaching him from the left are three men bearing milk-jars; the first is *his herdsman Djadjay*, while over the other two we read         

THE HYKSOS RULE IN EGYPT¹

By T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH

IN the nineteenth century B.C. Egypt was the strongest state in the Near East. To the south, Lower Nubia was occupied by Egyptian forces, and still farther to the south trade flourished in the Egyptian factory at Kerma in the Sudan. From these southern provinces gold and other valuable goods came to Egypt in huge quantities. This political and commercial strength permitted Egypt to play a dominant role also in the north, and at least the kinglets of Byblos in Syria seem to have been Pharaoh's vassals. They used regalia of an Egyptian design and were possibly anointed at their coronation with oil from vessels bearing the name of the Egyptian king.² It is probable that other Syrian cities, too, such as Ras Shamra-Ugarit, were politically dependent on Egypt.³

After the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1778 B.C.⁴) there followed a short period—let us say about a generation—when the unity of Egypt was no longer upheld, but a number of ephemeral kinglets ruled the country contemporaneously.⁵ However, Egypt soon recovered its political unity and strength, and this passing weakness had not changed Egypt's political position in the Near East.⁶

¹ A paper read in May 1950 at a meeting of the Egypt Exploration Society in London and at the Griffith Institute in Oxford. The problems connected with the Hyksos have often been extensively discussed (cf. especially P. C. Labib (*Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz*, Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1936) and R. M. Engberg (*The Hyksos Reconsidered*, SAOC 18, Chicago, 1939) and have quite recently been analysed in detail by H. Stock (*Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens*, Äg. Forsch. Heft 12, Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1942) and by H. E. Winlock (*The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, 1947; cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 34, 123 f., and my review *Bi. Or.* 6, No. 3/4, 87 ff.). The Editor of *JEA* is responsible for the appearance of yet another article on this well-worn theme, since he very kindly considered my paper worth publishing. I have intentionally refrained from quoting all the endless controversies and possible references; most of the relevant literature is easily to be found in the works just mentioned. On the Nubian evidence cf. my *Ägypten und Nubien*, Lund, 1941, and *JEA* 35, 50 ff.

² Cf. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pls. 88 ff. (ointment vases, etc.), 95 ff. (regalia; uraei on pl. 98); note also the use of hieroglyphs and Egyptian designs on the weapons, *ibid.* pls. 99 ff. The cylinder of Yakin-ilu, quoted by Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, 14 f., cannot be used as evidence for the Twelfth Dynasty, as it is probably of a later date (Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 11, nn. 15, 16) (cf. below, n. 6).

³ Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, 1, 20 ff. An Egyptian domination is rather to be deduced from the fact that the Egyptian statuettes of the Twelfth Dynasty seem to have been intentionally smashed (Schaeffer, *op. cit.* 25) than from their mere existence at Ugarit (as is done by Smith, *op. cit.* 15). On the Egyptian power in Palestine see Wilson, *AJSL* 58, 225 ff., with a summary of the M.K. finds in Syria and Palestine. As rightly stressed by Wilson, it is dangerous to draw conclusions regarding the political situation from occasional finds of cylinders, scarabs, and statuettes; too great a reliance on such criteria would lead to the absurd conclusion that regions such as Anatolia and Crete, where M.K. statuettes have been found, had at one time been under Egyptian rule.

⁴ Lynn Wood, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 8; Edgerton, *JNES* 1, 314.

⁵ Cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 53 ff.; Vandier, *JS* 1944, 156 ff., stresses the uncertainty of Stock's chief arguments, but finds his results acceptable for other reasons.

⁶ Cf. my *Äg. u. Nub.* 119; the cylinder of Yakin-ilu (above, n. 2) indicates that this king of Byblos was a vassal of one of the first rulers of the 'interregnum' (Šhetepibrē II or III), and if this Yakin-ilu is identical with the father of *Intn* (cf. below, p. 54, n. 4), *Ykn* (?) (cf. Albright, *loc. cit.*), it would be another argument for the assumption that the 'interregnum' lasted only about a generation.

Under the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Neferhotpe and his brother Sebkhotpe, the situation is again much the same as under the Twelfth Dynasty. Egypt itself is unified, and in Lower Nubia many of the rich tombs in the neighbourhood of the fortified towns seem to date from this very period. At Kerma, in the Sudan, the native civilization shows great richness as a result of Egyptian trade.¹

The archaeological evidence, however, suggests a certain difference, in that from now on foreign ceramic wares increase in number in the Egyptian tombs. Thus we find the so-called Tell el-Yahūdīyah ware spread from Kerma in the south to Syria in the north.² This ware and other goods bear witness to an intense trade all over an immense area, a trade that was bound to modify to a certain extent the character of the Egyptian civilization and to some extent break down its conservative self-sufficiency, which is so typical of the earlier periods.

In the north Egypt's old relations with the town of Byblos are maintained. In Byblos a most instructive relief has been found, showing a Byblotic kinglet named *Intn* paying homage to the name of King Neferhotpe of Egypt.³ Thus *Intn* regarded himself more or less as a vassal of the Egyptian king.

It is possible that this *Intn* is identical with a king of Byblos, called Yantin-hammu, who is mentioned in the now famous archives of the town of Mari.⁴ The texts from Mari shed new light on the history of the Near East in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I had ruled a great part of Upper Mesopotamia, but his son Ishmē-Dagan was not able to maintain the political strength of Assyria, and Mari had liberated itself. In a letter to the ruler of Mari, Zimri-Lim, the political situation is clearly depicted (cf. fig. 1):

'There is no king who, of himself, is the strongest. Ten or fifteen kings follow Hammurabi of Babel, the same number follow Rim-Sin of Larsa, the same number follow Ibal-pi-El of Eshnunna, the same number follow Amut-pi-il of Qatna, twenty kings follow Yarim-lim of Yamkhad.'⁵

This balance of power between rather small states did not last long. Hammurabi of Babel defeated Larsa and Mari, and for a short time possibly also ruled Assyria. But soon a tribe from the eastern mountains descended into the plain, and these people, the so-called Kassites, established their rule in the eastern part of Babylonia.

In Assyria another foreign people from the east, the Hurrians, gradually became a strong political factor. Since the Kassites had established themselves in Babylonia, this new expansive force turned south-westwards. Alalakh, the capital of Yamkhad, was sacked, possibly by these Hurrians, and there was a general unrest in Syria owing to these ethnic movements from the east.⁶

What happened to Egypt in the meantime? After the brothers Neferhotpe and

¹ On the reigns of Neferhotpe and his brother Sebkhotpe see Stock, op. cit. 59 f., and on their power in Nubia my *Ag. u. Nub.* 119 ff. Stock (61 f.) dates Neferhotpe to about 1760-1750 B.C., starting from the year 1788 for the fall of the M.K., though about 1750-1740 B.C. (cf. above, p. 53, n. 4) seems more likely. Albright's date for Neferhotpe, about 1740-1730 B.C. (*Bull. ASOR* 99, 16), may be too low, as it is deduced from the sum of all the extant regnal years of the Turin Papyrus from the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty to Neferhotpe without considering that in all probability several kings reigned contemporaneously.

² Cf. below, p. 57 with ref.

⁴ Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 9 ff.

⁶ Cf. Smith, op. cit. 35.

³ Montet, *Kémi*, 1, 90 ff.; cf. Stock, op. cit. 59.

⁵ Dossin, *Syria*, 19, 117 f.; cf. Smith, op. cit. 11.

Sebkhotpe the power of the Egyptian Government progressively declined. The later king-lists and the contemporary monuments mention an overwhelming number of kinglets who must have reigned contemporaneously. Egypt was again in a state more

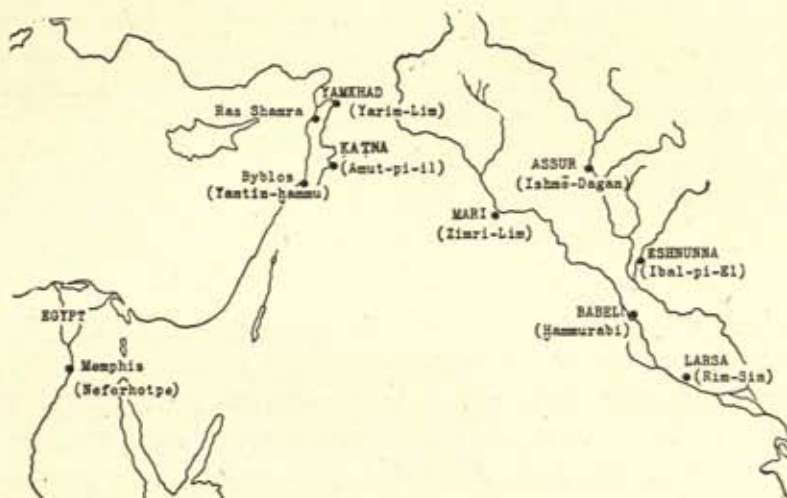


FIG. 1. The political situation in the Near East in the reign of Zimri-Lim of Mari.

or less of anarchy, a ripe fruit to be gathered by anyone with no great effort. At this time, and possibly as a result of the unrest in Syria, Asiatics filtered into the Delta and soon established themselves as local rulers there. Among the many ephemeral rulers of this period the Ramesside king-list of the Turin Papyrus (col. 9, 30/1) mentions the names *ꜥꜣ-nꜣ-ti* 'Anti (= *ꜥnt-hꜣ* 'Anather on contemporary scarabs) and *Bbnm* Bebnem (or *Bblm*), which are clearly of an Asiatic character. These two kinglets were probably such Asiatic dynasts of the Delta.¹

About a generation after King Neferhotpe, i.e. shortly before 1700 B.C., these Asiatics, called the Hyksos, rule all Egypt, and have taken over the Egyptian control of Lower Nubia as well as the trade at Kerma in the Sudan.

The only literary source that describes how the Hyksos came into power is the History of Egypt written by Manetho in the second century B.C., i.e. about 1,500 years after the event. Thus it is a very late source, but derived from earlier documents. It is, however, a typical trait of all the late sources regarding the Hyksos that they are strongly tinged by propaganda against the foreigners. In fact, the later a text the more hostile it is to the Hyksos. This must be remembered when we read Manetho's version:²

¹ Neferhotpe's brother, Kha'neferre' Sebkhotpe, reigned at least eight years (*FIFAO* 10, 2, p. 33), thus probably about 1740-1730 B.C. According to Stock (op. cit. 60 ff.) the successors of this line, also, down to Merhetepre' Sebkhotpe (Turin Papyrus 7, 1-4: 31 years, i.e. down to about 1700 = Stock's 1710; cf. above, p. 54, n. 1) ruled all Egypt, which leads him to the conclusion (p. 62) 'bis zum Jahre 1710 (changed on p. 63 to 1720!) ungefähr kann . . . von einem Einfall der Hyksos keine Rede sein'. But one scarab of Merneferre' Ay (Tur. Pap. 7, 3) found at Tell el-Yahūdiyāh (Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pl. 9, 116) is no argument for the power of this king in the Delta. Thus the first Hyksos ('Anather, Bebnem (or Beblem), etc.; cf. Stock, op. cit., 64 f.) may well have established their rule in the Eastern Delta about 1730 B.C. (cf. below, p. 64). Some of the numerous kings of this period in the Turin Papyrus (cols. 8 and 9) may correspond to the so-called Fourteenth Dynasty of Xoïs (Stock, op. cit., n. 377), which is then to be dated about 1730-1710/00 B.C. (cf. below, p. 62, n. 4).

² Manetho, ed. W. G. Waddell, 79 ff.

'Toutimaïos',¹ he tells us, 'in his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of god smote us; and unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow; and having overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis. He had his seat at Memphis, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving garrisons behind in the most advantageous positions.'

Manetho then tells us that Salitis built a stronghold at Avaris in the Eastern Delta. After him reigned the kings Bnôn, Apachnan, Apophis, Iannas, and Assis (or Asêth or Kertos), and their descendants. 'Their whole race (ἔθνος) was called Hyksos.'

Now, who were these Hyksos? The Egyptian term is *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣswt*, which means 'rulers of foreign countries'.² This seems to have been a usual designation of the sheikhs in Palestine and Syria as early as the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. For instance, such a sheikh who came with thirty-seven Asiatics to bring their products to Egypt is depicted in a tomb at Beni Ḥasan. In the accompanying inscription he is called 'the ruler of a foreign country (*ḥkꜣ ḥꜣst*) Abishai'.³ This picture may perhaps serve as an illustration of those Asiatic groups who filtered into the Delta towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but we have no reason to regard these *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣswt* who are mentioned in the twentieth century—i.e. two or three centuries before the Hyksos—as identical with the later Hyksos or as a foreign element in Palestine, a sort of 'Ritteradel' attacking the country from Syria.⁴

Later on only, when the Hyksos rulers of Egypt had come to use *ḥkꜣ ḥꜣswt* as a kind of royal title, does it become a more special term designating the group of Asiatics who ruled Egypt.

This term gives us the impression that the Hyksos were only a little group of foreign dynasts rather than a numerous people with a special civilization. According to Manetho's version it also seems as if the Hyksos rule only meant a change of political leaders in Egypt, and not a mass-invasion of a numerically important foreign ethnic element. This view is corroborated by contemporary evidence.

There are a great many tombs from the Hyksos period in Egypt, but there is nowhere

¹ Or Timaios; cf. Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 15, n. 44.

² See, for example, Labib, op. cit. 7.

³ Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, pls. 10, 11; *Bull. M. M. A. Eg. Exp.* 1931-32, p. 25, fig. 4. As rightly stressed by Galling (*ZDPV* 62, 98 f.) it is *a priori* unwarranted to assume the identity of these Asiatics with the later Hyksos and (with Labib, op. cit. 9) to use their Semitic type to determine the ethnic origin of the Hyksos.

⁴ Alt, *ZAS* 58, 49 f., regards the *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣswt* mentioned in Sinuhe B 98 as being identical with the later Hyksos, but (with Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 167) denies the historical value of the text with regard to conditions in Syria and Palestine at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. Since Sinuhe was serving a *ḥkꜣ* of *Rṯnw* the meaning of *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣswt* is here probably only 'the (other) rulers of (these) foreign countries', and the passage is no proof for the appearance of a foreign ethnic or social group (as suggested by Galling, *ZDPV* 62, 99 f.). Guy and Engberg (*Megiddo Tombs*, *OIP* 33, 150, 161) also assume a new population from the beginning of M.B. II (corresponding in Egypt to the M.K. and Hyksos periods) because of the stylistic changes in the ceramic art. They also point out that 'skeletal evidence too indicates that the M.B. II population differed from that which had preceded'—an argument which seems convincing, until one finds out (on p. 192) that the material consists of two broken skulls from M.B. II and that there are no M.B. I skulls to compare them with. Thus the change of the population, and still more the early appearance of the Hyksos proper in Palestine, is open to doubt.

a clear indication of an invasion of a foreign people from the north. Foreign ceramic ware is often to be found, but this is the result of a gradually increasing influx of foreign goods that can be observed from the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty and onwards. There is nowhere a sudden change in the burial customs. Only a very restricted number of tombs, at Tell el-Yahūdīyah, Abušīr el-Meleḡ, Ḳāw, Sedment, and Deshashah have been ascribed to the Hyksos,¹ but the attribution is uncertain and at least those of Abušīr el-Meleḡ belong to the very latest phase of the Hyksos period.

A great number of archaeological objects and the like have often been attributed to the Hyksos, and from this material conclusions have been drawn with regard to the civilization of the Hyksos 'people', their homeland and ethnic composition.² I will here only mention a few of them.

It is again and again stated that the so-called Tell el-Yahūdīyah ware should be regarded as Hyksos products and, as the American scholar Engberg puts it, be 'an invaluable aid in the detection of the Hyksos occupation of a site'.³ This is in my opinion wholly unwarranted. First of all it is a very dangerous method to deduce ethnic movements from the presence of a certain type of ceramic ware only, if there is not at the same time some important change in burial customs, and it can often be proved that a change in the archaeological material is simply due to trade.⁴

Moreover, the typical Tell el-Yahūdīyah jugs are gradually developed in Palestine and Syria, and their appearance there marks no sudden change in the ceramic tradition.⁵ In Egyptian territory they were introduced long before the arrival of the Hyksos, and are found in tombs in Lower Nubia dating from a time when the Hyksos had hardly even reached Middle Egypt. The most that can be said about the connexion between the Hyksos and the Tell el-Yahūdīyah jugs is that the Hyksos perhaps liked them, and that possibly greater quantities were imported when the Hyksos rulers controlled the trade than when it was handled by a more conservative Egyptian Government. It should also be stressed that these jugs were used in Egypt after the unpopular Hyksos had been expelled.

¹ Wolf, *ZDMG* 83, 74 f.; Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 19; Stock, op. cit. 72 f. with ref. According to Scharff (*WDOG* 49, 87, with a reference to Müller, *ibid.* 27, 308 f.) some of the skeletons at Abušīr el-Meleḡ show a foreign, possibly Semitic, type.

² See, for example, Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, Chap. VIII—one of the most characteristic examples of this way of interpreting the new civilization of the New Kingdom (cf. my review in *Bi.Or.* 6, 88 ff.).

³ In *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 18; cf. 25 ff. The improbability of this interpretation has been repeatedly demonstrated (e.g. Otto, *ZDPV* 61, 168 ff., 272 ff., Bissing, *AFOF* 14, 85 f., Stock, op. cit. 72; cf. also Stewart in *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, 56 f.). On the date of the appearance of the ware in Egypt and its occurrence in Nubia, cf. my *Äg. u. Nub.* 124 ff. with ref. It may be noted that the ware is absent in Tell Farāḥ (Petrie, *Beth Peleth*, 1, 5), a place which probably (cf. below, p. 71, n. 5) is identical with the historical Hyksos stronghold Sharuhen.

⁴ What would not a future archaeologist be able to deduce by this method from the household vessels of modern Egypt? 'Since petrol cans have largely replaced the larger vases of earthenware, we see that a "petrol can people" invaded Egypt in the beginning of the 20th century A.D., and since the decoration can be traced to the USA this people came from America.' On the other hand, the presence of the primus stoves would demonstrate an ethnic movement from Sweden, mixed with a Latin element in view of the Latin word written on the stoves.

⁵ Cf. Albright, *Ann.ASOR* 12, 17; 13, 79; *AJA* 36, 559; Otto, loc. cit.

The same reasoning applies to another ceramic ware, which has been similarly misused, if I may say so, to demonstrate that there was a Hurrian element among the Hyksos. It is the so-called bichrome wheel-made ware, known from the Second Intermediate in Egypt at Abušir el-Meleḳ, Kāw, and Sedment.¹ A similar decoration, but on a different ware, was used in Upper Mesopotamia, where part of the population spoke the Hurrian language, and hence this ceramic type is sometimes called Hurrian ware. First of all it may be noted that not even the connexion between Hurrians and this painted Upper Mesopotamian, so-called Khabur ware is as yet established—the typical ceramic of the Hurrian state Mitanni was the entirely different Nuzu ware!² Neither true Khabur ware nor the probably Hurrian Nuzu ware have been found in Egypt, but only some pots which show decoration similar to that of the Khabur ware but which are otherwise of a different type. The typical bichrome ware of Palestine, which reached its peak after the Hyksos period and may be connected with the Second Intermediate vases found in Egypt, was perhaps influenced by a north Syrian ware, which in turn may be derived from the true Khabur ware, which in turn again may perhaps be connected with the Hurrians. It is a very long way from the pots found in Egypt to the Hurrians as an ethnic element, and to call this ware 'Hurrian' is in my opinion a rather wild guess. And even if they were indeed Hurrian pots, this would by no means suffice to show that there were Hurrians among the Hyksos, since this type of ceramic may well have reached Egypt by trade.

The hypothesis that the Hyksos contained Hurrian elements seems also not to be supported by linguistic evidence. Most of the Hyksos names are pure Semitic, and those which cannot be thus explained are in any case hardly Hurrian.³

Certain traits in the glyptic art have also been adduced in this connexion to show an alleged Eastern element in the civilization of the Hyksos. As one of the best instances the so-called Hornblower plaque has been mentioned, where the bird should not be

¹ Cf. Engberg, *op. cit.* 19 with n. 11; it is true that Engberg used the term 'Hurrian' in this connexion primarily in the sense that 'some of the most characteristic aspects of late Hyksos culture are comparable to material traits employed contemporaneously by a Hurrian-speaking people in northern Mesopotamia' (p. 38), but he nevertheless used this ware as an argument for the assumption of a 'considerable movement of (*int. al.* Hurrian) peoples' (p. 39; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 46 f.). (Similarly also Stock, *op. cit.* 75 with n. 474; he quotes Otto, *ZDPV* 61, 221, but ought to have considered the conclusive arguments *ibid.*, 273, against connecting the bichrome ware with the Hyksos as an ethnic element.)

² For the relevant literature concerning these painted wares see Stewart, *op. cit.* 42 ff., 59 ff., and Marian Welker, *Transact. Amer. Philos. Soc.* N.S. 38, 185 ff.; cf. also Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, 8 f.

³ Cf. Labib, *op. cit.* 9; Dussaud, *RHR* 109, 116. Khian, which has generally been regarded as a non-Semitic name (cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 66, adducing—as already Olmstead, *JEA* 8, 225—King Ḥaian[i] of Sam'al in the ninth (!) century; cf. also Albright, *JPOS* 15, 228 f.) is compared by Dussaud with Arabic and Nabataean Ḥayyan (and, of course, Ḥaian[i] of Sam'al is no argument against this comparison, since he may well have had a Semitic name). The names of this type ending in -n(a) (also *Šmḫn* = Ugaritic *Šamukena*, and probably already *Tntn* of Byblos; cf. above, p. 54) are explained by Albright (*loc. cit.*) as possibly South Anatolian, but in any case not Hurrian. Names of a Hurrian type are conspicuously absent among the Hyksos—it is just possible, but by no means certain, that *Šmḫn* may be derived from the Hurrian god Šimiqe (Gustavs, *ZAS* 64, 57 f.; Stock, *op. cit.* 67; Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, *Ann. ASOR* 20, 39; Gelb, Purves, MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, *OIP* 57, 257. The old identification *Šmḫn* = *Šim'ōn* is presumably wrong; cf. Gustavs, *loc. cit.*). But since this ruler belongs to the later Hyksos who seem to have active relations with the north (cf. below, p. 61), he may have had a Hurrian name without belonging to that people. Nothing, in my opinion, can be deduced with regard to a non-Semitic element among the Hyksos from their proper names.

regarded as a badly designed vulture, the Egyptian Nekhebet, but rather as the Mesopotamian Imdugud. Further, the pattern at the bottom is a typically Mesopotamian drawing of mountains.¹ I will not deny that this interpretation is possible, nor that, for example, the antithetical groups with the 'tree of life' on scarabs may be due to influence from Mesopotamia. But since seals of the First Dynasty of Babel have been found at Ras Shamra, this Eastern trait in the glyptic art may well be the result of trade connexions. The existence of such far-reaching connexions is demonstrated by the presence in Egypt of Cypriote ceramic ware, and nobody has tried to show that there was a Cypriote ethnic element among the Hyksos.

An Aryan element has been assumed, too, based on the thesis that the Hyksos invaded Egypt so easily because they used horse-drawn chariots, a war technique that is said to be Aryan, because some of the technical terms connected with it are of an Indo-Iranian origin, and that in fact revolutionized warfare.² I cannot here enter upon the complicated problems connected with the history of the horse in the Near East. Let it suffice to point out that the horse was known in Mesopotamia long before we find any traces of Indo-Iranians,³ and that, on the other hand, there is not the slightest evidence that the Hyksos used the horse until the very latest part of their rule in Egypt. The earliest literary mention is in a text which refers to the expulsion of the Hyksos.⁴ At Tell el-'Ajjul in southern Palestine Petrie found rich tombs where horses and asses had been buried with the dead, and he regarded this as a definite proof on the one hand that the Hyksos used the horse, and on the other hand that the tombs in question belonged to the Hyksos.⁵ But these tombs date from the very end of the Hyksos period, possibly even only from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶ Not a single buried horse nor even a bone of a horse has been found in any of the

¹ Cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 32 f.

² Cf., for example, Winlock, *op. cit.* 152 ff., and Stock, *op. cit.* 73 f. with ref. ('Mit Götze wird man an eine von arischen Herren geführte churrische und dann allmählich auch semitische Bewegung denken. Dieses Wanderheer brachte erst den Kananäern und dann den Ägyptern Pferd und Wagen; die Ägypter entlehnten darum die ihnen näherliegenden kananäischen Worte für beide' (Stock, p. 74)—this represents what has become more or less the *communis opinio* about the 'invading' Hyksos. With regard to the last statement cf. Albright, *AFOF* 6, 218, n. 4, who stresses the fact that Canaanite *samek* 'was always represented in Middle and Late Egyptian by *ḥ*', and that Egyptian *ssmt*, 'horse', is hence probably not a Canaanite loan-word. The Canaanite *mrkbt*, 'chariot', occurs only later in the Eighteenth Dynasty and onwards, which rather suggests a later borrowing, whereas *wrrt* 'chariot', is possibly an Egyptian word; cf. Gunn's note in *Ann. ASOR* 13, 49, n. 119. All this tells us nothing about the ethnic origin or composition of the Hyksos.) Bissing's perfectly sound arguments (*AFOF* 11, 328 ff.) against the thesis that the Hyksos invaded Egypt with the aid of horses have in no way been refuted, e.g. by Stock, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf., for example, Götze, *Kleinasiens*, 72 (*int. al.* a *rabi sisē* in the Cappadocian tablets from the nineteenth century); horses and chariots in Mari under Zimri-Lim (*Syria* 19, 125); Mallowan, *Iraq*, 9, 216 ('the chariot was already widely used in the Early Dynastic-Sargonid III periods, and . . . the chariot warfare so freely practised in the middle of the second millennium B.C. was then a comparatively modern exploitation of an invention which had been made more than a thousand years earlier').

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 3. The word *ḥtr* in the Kamosē text perhaps also refers to horses (cf. below, pp. 68f.). The M.M.A. statuette of a groom on a horse (Winlock, *op. cit.*, pl. 22) is not exactly dated.

⁵ Cf. Bissing, *AFOF* 11, 333, n. 61, and Otto, *ZDPV* 61, 259 *contra* Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, 1, pp. 3 f., etc.

⁶ Otto, *loc. cit.*; Albright, *JPOS* 15, 223 ('mostly from the Sixteenth century'). Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée*, 156 ff., advocates an earlier dating (not later than 1650 to 1600), but stresses the uncertainty whether the burials belong to any Hyksos.

numerous tombs from the Hyksos period in Egypt, and there is not a single picture of a horse, despite the fact that all sorts of different animals are depicted on the scarabs of this time. In the hunting-scenes the hunter is depicted on foot,¹ which as a rule is not the case in those countries where the use of horse-drawn chariots has been fully adopted. Thus everything in the evidence seems to demonstrate that the Hyksos never used this war technique until possibly in the last struggles against the Egyptians before they were expelled from the country.

The Hyksos are also said to have introduced a new type of fortress into the Near East. These are very large camps with an earthen wall surrounded by a moat. It has even been said that this type of defence is a natural type only on great plains such as those in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, and that therefore the homeland of the Hyksos must be sought in those distant tracts.²

On the map (fig. 2) these alleged Hyksos fortresses are marked out.³ Most of those in Palestine date from the Hyksos period, even if one of them (Hazor) is said to go back to much earlier times. The date of the others is more dubious, and that at Sippar is deduced only from a Sumerian text which mentions that 'the wall of Sippar . . . was made of great masses of earth'.⁴ In any case this is a widespread type during the Hyksos period, but—and that is essential—no certain instance is known from Egypt, the only country where the actual Hyksos are established with certainty as a political factor!

Two ruins at Tell el-Yahūdiyah and Heliopolis have repeatedly been interpreted as such fortresses, but, unfortunately, I think the architect Ricke⁵ is right in assuming that they are more probably temple foundations.

To sum up, the analysis of the archaeological evidence gives a somewhat negative result, but rather supports the view mentioned above, that the Hyksos rule was only a change of political leaders, and not an invasion by a numerically important ethnic

¹ E.g. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. 25, 26.

² Albright, *JPOS* 2, 122 f.; *Journ. Soc. Or. Res.* 10, 245 ff.; *JPOS* 15, 223 ff.; *Ann. ASOR* 17, 28 f.; *Harvard Symposium*, 16 f.; *Bull. ASOR* 88, 33; cf. also Engberg, *op. cit.* 20 ff.; Winlock, *op. cit.* 163 f.; Stewart, *op. cit.* 57 f.; Stock, *op. cit.* 73; Welker, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* n.s. 38, 207. Albright's interpretations have been criticized, *inter alia*, by Otto, *ZDPV* 61, 270 f., and Bissing, *AFOF* 11, 326. Schaeffer, *op. cit.* 156, n. 4, is also sceptical.

³ The fortresses mentioned in the discussion by Albright, Engberg, and Welker, as well as Tell Jarisha, for which see *QDAP* 10, 198 f.; *PEQ* 78, 93 f. It should be noticed that many of these constructions have not been adequately investigated or published. The history of the art of fortification of the Middle Bronze age remains to be written (Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, 1949, 87 ff.).

⁴ Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 88, 33.

⁵ *ZÄS* 71, 107 ff.; criticized by Albright, *Ann. ASOR* 17, 28, n. 2. Undoubtedly, Ricke is right in his statements (a) that the date of the two 'fortresses' is so far unsettled; (b) that at Tell el-Yahūdiyah the facts (1) that the entrance ramp is confined to the outer approach; (2) that the easy outer slope of the 'rampart' would favour the attackers, while the vertical inner face would inflict the maximum disadvantage on the defenders; and (3) that there is no trace either of defensive wall or of moat, make it hard to believe that this construction had any defensive purpose (cf. Otto, *ZDPV* 61, 271); and that it differs essentially from the rampart fortifications in Syria and Palestine, where, for example, the entrances as a rule (?) are cut *through* the rampart and where we find defensive walls as well as moats: (c) that there is a much earlier similar construction in Hierakonpolis. Even if these rampart-fortifications were to be ascribed to the Hyksos, the northern or Indo-Iranian origin of all of them or part of them would by no means be demonstrated (as admitted by Albright, *loc. cit.*), or, in my opinion, even made plausible.

element with a superior war technique and a special civilization. On the other hand, the Hyksos had close connexions with Asia, and seem to have favoured the introduction of innovations from this area more than their Egyptian predecessors. But it is only

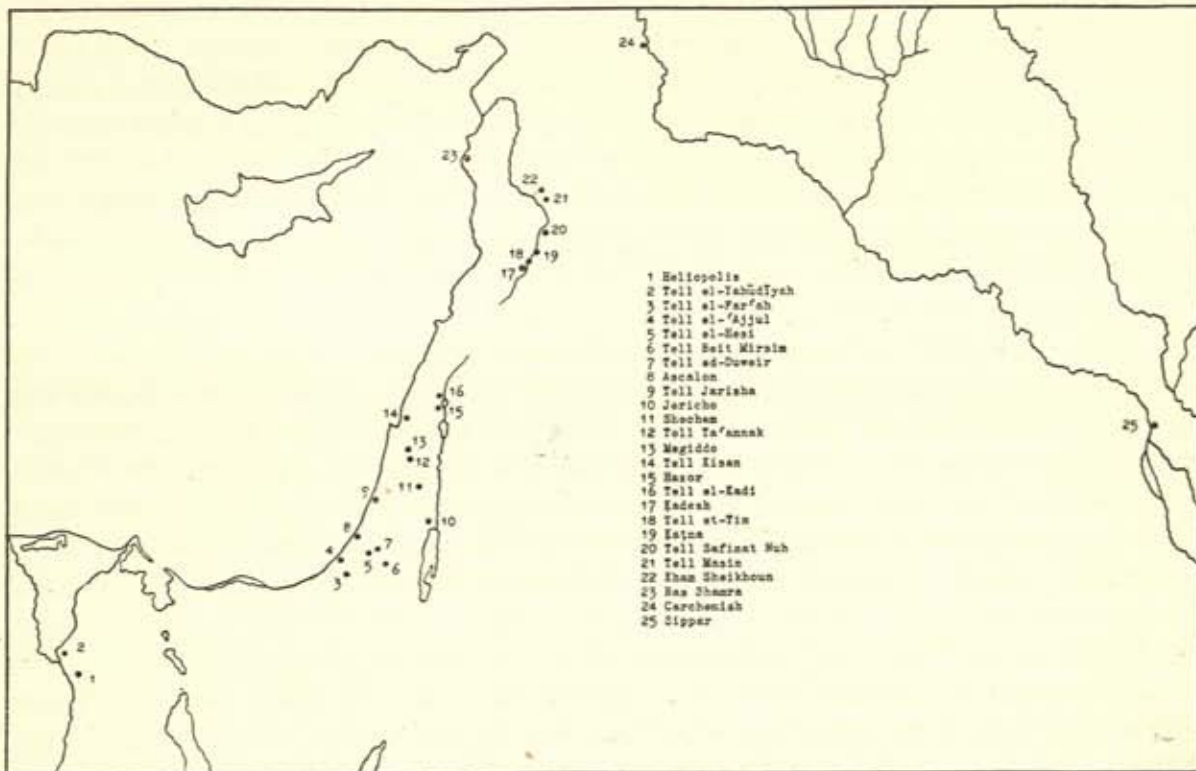


FIG. 2. Terre-pisée Rampart-fortifications.

towards the end of their rule in Egypt that they introduce a number of improvements in military technique in an attempt to uphold their political power against the growing Egyptian opposition. Then first the horse-drawn chariots, new types of daggers and swords, bronze weapons, the strong compound Asiatic bow, etc., are imported from Asia. This reconstruction of the cultural development is in any case more in line with the dates of the actual finds of these innovations in Egypt, since they are unknown until the very end of the Hyksos rule.

The view that the Hyksos do not represent a real invasion of a foreign people is also supported by the development in Nubia, which can be reconstructed from the texts and the archaeological evidence.¹ In Lower Nubia there was always strong opposition to the Egyptian occupation, and the Nubians there had to be severely controlled by means of strong fortresses built in their centres of population. To uphold trade at Kerma farther south in the Sudan it was necessary for the Egyptian Government to have political power in Lower Nubia. In Kerma the situation is the opposite. The natives derived great benefit from Egyptian trade, and the Egyptians never tried to dominate this tract politically but preferred peaceful commercial contacts. The Hyksos rulers took over this peaceful trade in Kerma, which continues without any interruption

¹ Cf. my *Ag. u. Nub.*, Chap. C 5 and D, and *JEA* 35, 56.

for about a century after the Hyksos came into power in Egypt proper. One of the last, or possibly the very last, of the Upper Egyptian kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who is called Dedumosē and may be identical with Manetho's (Tou)timaios, under whose rule the Hyksos are said to have overpowered Egypt,¹ probably occurs in Kerma in a fragmentary inscription.² And the names of the Hyksos Sheshi (= Assis?), Ma'airē, and Jacob-El are found on seal-impressions in the trade factory, presumably to seal official documents.³ These Hyksos belong to the first group of foreign rulers in Egypt. Other archaeological evidence also shows that trade continued down to this time, which implies that the rulers from Dedumosē down to these Hyksos must have ruled Lower Nubia and the southern part of Upper Egypt.

Had a numerous foreign people invaded Egypt and crushed the Egyptian administration and the military strength and organization of the Egyptian Government, this development in the south would be very difficult to explain.

After the first politically rather unimportant Hyksos kinglets in the Delta, we can distinguish two groups of Hyksos rulers. The first, which we may call, with Manetho, the Fifteenth Dynasty, consisted according to the king-list of the Turin Papyrus of 6 rulers who reigned for 108 years.⁴ The names are lost except for that of the last, who in this source is called Khamudy (*Hymudy*). Manetho gives the names as Salitis, Bnon, Apachnan, Apophis, Iannas, and Assis (Asēth), or Kertos. Apophis and Iannas are known from contemporary monuments in the form 'Awoserrē Apophis and Sewoserenrē Khian, and Assis may be identical with King Sheshi, whose name often occurs on scarabs that stylistically can be dated to the earlier half of the Hyksos rule. These scarabs are intimately connected with those bearing the name Ma'airē, which may be another name of the same king. Possibly, the Hyksos ruler Jacob-El, whose name is also known from scarabs, belongs to this earlier group, or was the first of the second group, to judge from the style and the distribution of his scarabs. Khamudy and Kertos finally may be different names for the same king.⁵

¹ Cf. Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 15, n. 44; Stock, op. cit. 63; Hayes, *JEA* 33, 9 f. (who points out the probability that at least one of the two known kings with the name Dedumosē ruled Upper Egypt down to Itj-towē).

² Reisner, *Kerma I*, 101; my *Äg. u. Nub.* 111.

³ Reisner, *Kerma II*, 75 f., fig. 168; cf. *Bi. Or.* 6, 88; *JEA* 35, 56.

⁴ On the number '108' cf. Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 17, n. 49. Except for the date indicated by the Tanis era (below, p. 64, n. 2) the Fifteenth Dynasty may be dated to about 1720-1610 B.C. (= the dates suggested by Stock, op. cit. 70, on partly different grounds) for the following reasons. As shown above (p. 55, n. 1) the kings of Dyn. XIII ruled all Egypt down to at least 1730 B.C., and the first Asiatic kinglets can hardly have established their rule in the Eastern Delta before that date. Since we must allow some time for all the other rulers down to Dedumosē in Upper Egypt (above, n. 1), *Nḥsy* in Tanis (Stock, op. cit. 63 f. with ref.), etc., and for the earliest Hyksos such as Anather and Bebnem, the beginning of Dyn. XV must be dated a decade or two later. (Hence I find it difficult to accept Vandier's dating 1730-1622 B.C. for Dyn. XV; *JES* 1944, 166.) If we accept Manetho's statement that the first ruler of Dyn. XV, Salitis, overran Upper Egypt and that he reigned 19 years, the Hyksos possibly came into power in all Egypt about 1700, supposing that this happened toward the end of the reign of Salitis. If we reject Manetho, the Hyksos power in Upper Egypt may be dated still later, since Apophis 'Awoserrē is the first ruler known from *in situ* finds in Upper Egypt. On the other hand, Amosis, who expelled the Hyksos of Dyn. XVI, reigned from about 1570 B.C. (cf. Edgerton, *AJS* 53, 196), and it seems necessary to allow at least more than one generation for Kamosē and Dyn. XVII (= Winlock's 'Dyn. XVI and XVII'; cf. *Bi. Or.* 6, 87) which in all probability started after the end of Dyn. XV and was contemporaneous with Dyn. XVI (= the later Hyksos). About 1610 B.C. thus appears to be the latest plausible date for the end of Dyn. XV. (Thus I cannot accept Albright's dates 1690-1580 B.C. for Dyn. XV; *Bull. ASOR* 99, 17.)

⁵ Cf. Stock, op. cit. 64 ff.; on the reading Jacob-El of the writings *Ykb-hr*, *Ykb-r*, etc., and possibly also of

There can be little doubt about the fact, that these kings, with the possible exception of Salitis, Bnon, and Apachnan, ruled all Egypt and Lower Nubia, as is apparent from the distribution of *in situ* finds bearing their names (fig. 3).¹ The finds in Kerma have already been mentioned. The names of Apophis 'Awoserrē' and Khian occur on some blocks from a monument at Gebelēn south of Thebes. The other finds are mostly readily portable objects, such as scarabs. This is true of all the finds from southern Palestine, and it is highly probable, though not absolutely certain, that these Hyksos ruled this area also.

One of the arguments that have been adduced for this assumption is that the Hyksos could hardly have conquered Egypt without a previous domination of Palestine. But if the Hyksos did not arrive in Egypt as conquerors but as peaceful immigrants, who first established themselves as kinglets in the Eastern Delta, and then from this hinterland succeeded in overpowering the very weak and ephemeral kinglets of Upper Egypt, this argument is no longer valid. Nor can the facts that a lion with the name of Khian has been bought in Baghdad and that an alabaster lid with the same name has been found in the Palace of Knossos in Crete prove anything about the political power of the Hyksos in the Near East.² But from a later text regarding the War of Liberation it seems to be clear that Sharuhēn (probably = Tell Far'ah) in southern Palestine was a Hyksos stronghold which the Egyptian King Amosis conquered after the successful siege of Avaris, the Hyksos capital in Egypt (cf. below, p. 71).

The exact situation of this town Avaris is not known with absolute certainty, but at

'Ykb-mw', *ibid.* 67 and n. 263 with ref. (cf. also Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua*, 1950, 36 f. with ref.). I think Stock is right in dating Ykb-hr later than Khian but earlier than 'Ykb-mw' and in separating the two names, even if the readings of the two names were possibly identical. Albright found a rather debased 'Ykb-mw' scarab in the stratum E² at Tell Beit Mirsim (= late M.B. II b = middle Hyksos phase), clearly separated from the stratum D (= M.B. II c = last Hyksos phase) (*Ann. ASOR* 17, § 51, pl. 29, 2; cf. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, 84, pl. 15, 2). This shows that 'Ykb-mw' must belong to one of the earlier rulers of Stock's second group (Dyn. XVI) (if the scarabs with this name do not simply represent a later corruption of the name of Ykb-hr). The Ykb-hr (Jacob-El) scarabs belong to a stylistically earlier group (Stock, *op. cit.* 46; cf. Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1931, 4; Albright, *JPOS* 15, 227 f.), and Jacob-El thus probably reigned before the beginning of M.B. II c. According to Albright (*loc. cit.*, and *AJA* 36, 559, etc.) Jacob-El, like 'Anather, would belong to the group preceding 'the Khayan and Apophis group' (i.e. before Dyn. XV). But if my view that the seal-impressions in the factory of Kerma represent the rulers who maintained the trade in the Egyptian factory (cf. *Bi. Or.* 6, 88 with ref.; *JEA* 35, 56), Jacob-El can hardly have been one of these early Delta dynasts who reigned before the Hyksos conquest of Upper Egypt. If Jacob-El reigned at the end of Dyn. XV or rather at the beginning of Dyn. XVI, i.e. shortly before 1600 B.C., the 'Ykb-mw' scarab from Tell Beit Mirsim, which must, I think, be still later, would imply that the beginning of Tell Beit Mirsim stratum D (= M.B. II c) can hardly be dated before 1600 B.C.

¹ Scholars who (like Labib, *op. cit.* 18 ff., and Bissing, *AFOF* 11, 327 f.) assume that the Hyksos never ruled Egypt to the south of Cusae—a view based on the later Kamosē text, quoted below, p. 68, have to regard all the southern *in situ* finds as 'offenbar verschleppt'. See also Stock, *op. cit.* 65, for some other arguments against this view. To the Nubian *in situ* finds may be added a corrupt Ššī-scarab from a Nubian tomb near Masmas; Emery-Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi Es-Sebua and Adindan*, p. 321, fig. 316, 6.

² Cf., for example, Bissing, *AFOF* 11, 327. Dussaud (*RHR* 109, 116) rightly describes the Hyksos empire (in this sense) as 'un des plus jolis mythes inventés'. Even those who reject such evidence as the Khian lion cannot free themselves from the prejudice of a large Hyksos power in Syria and Palestine, of which, in fact, nothing whatsoever is known (cf., for example, Albright, *Ann. ASOR* 13, 75 f.; *JPOS* 15, 230, deducing his opinion from the rather homogeneous material culture of Palestine and Syria in Hyksos times; but unity of civilization does not at all necessarily imply political unity).

least it is clear that it was situated in the Eastern Delta.¹ Montet's view that Tanis and Avaris are identical is perhaps correct, but, to my knowledge, no Hyksos monuments have been found *in situ* there, and Montet does not yet seem to have reached strata from the Hyksos period. I cannot here enter upon this intricate problem, but the fact that the capital of the Hyksos was situated in the Eastern Delta indicates that they had close political connexions with Palestine and probably ruled the southern part of this country.

A find from Tanis has given us an indication of the date when the Hyksos came into power in the Eastern Delta. It is the so-called Stela of 400 Years. It was set up in the reign of Ramesses II and tells us how the future kings Ramesses I and Sethos I celebrated a jubilee of 400 years of the Seth cult in Tanis. This must have been in the reign of King Haremhab, when Ramesses I and Sethos I still served as officers in the army. Haremhab reigned about 1330–1320 B.C., and hence the Seth cult was introduced into Tanis about 1730–1720 B.C. This date may mark the beginning of the Hyksos rule in the Delta, since other sources tell us that Seth or Sutekh was the chief god of the Hyksos.² The cult of the Egyptian god Seth existed in the Eastern Delta as early as the Old Kingdom,³ long before the Hyksos, but the Seth–Sutekh of the Hyksos was of a more Asiatic character, bearing a close resemblance in his appearance to such Asiatic gods as Ba'al, Reshep, and Teshub.⁴ A Hyksos scarab shows us the same type as that represented on the stela.⁵ The garment and the head-dress with the horns of divinity are typical Asiatic traits.

In later texts Attar-Astarte (or 'Anat⁶) was regarded as the wife of Seth–Ba'al, and this naked goddess also appears on Hyksos scarabs.⁷

It must, however, be a propagandist exaggeration when a tale from Ramesside times, the famous Pap. Sallier I, tells us that the Hyksos king served no other god than Sutekh, despising the Egyptian god Rē, and when Hatshepsut of the Eighteenth Dynasty says that the Hyksos 'ruled without Rē'.⁸ That this cannot be true is demon-

¹ Cf. the literature quoted by Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua*, 26 ff.

² Cf., for example, Labib, *op. cit.* 21 f.; Engberg, *op. cit.* 9; Albright, *Bull. ASOR* 99, 16 f. As to Stock's (*op. cit.* 70, 82) and Winlock's (*op. cit.* 97) wrong interpretation of this date see Vandier, *JES*, 1944, 165.

³ Junker, *ZÄS* 75, 77 ff.; Stock, *op. cit.* 63 f.; id., *Das Ostdelta Ägyptens*, etc. (*Die Welt des Orients*, III), 142 ff.

⁴ Cf. Dussaud, *RHR* 109, 116 ff.

⁵ *Ancient Egypt*, 1933, 37, No. 6.

⁶ Cf. Dussaud, *loc. cit.*; Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. Brit. Mus. III*, Text, 61 ff.

⁷ E.g. *Rev. d'Égyptol.* 1, 198, fig. 1, 2; for the Palestinian evidence see *inter alia*, Pilz, *ZDPV* 47, 129 ff.

⁸ Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 32, pl. 6, l. 38, pp. 48, 55. Gardiner's new rendering: 'I have raised up what was dismembered, (even) from the first time when the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, (with) roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been made; they ruled without Rē, and he (Rē) acted not by divine command (? = oracles, etc.) down to my august self', implies (according to Gardiner) that 'he (Rē) ceased to be the sublime director of human affairs', and that he did not convey his divine will to the Hyksos kings. This may be the true meaning of the text, and the statement would not then *eo ipso* be in contrast with the historic fact that the Hyksos revered Rē as a great god. Hatshepsut would perhaps only say that their aspirations with regard to Rē were vain efforts to 'rule with Rē' since Rē did not acknowledge them as true kings and hence ignored them. The different accusation in Pap. Sallier I (Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, 85 f.) could then be regarded as the exaggeration characteristic of later texts and culminating in Manetho's version. Breasted's assumption of a change of number and his interpretation of *ir f* as referring to the individual ruler of the Hyksos is hardly correct. However, the text can also be read *n rf m wd-ntr* (cf. pl. 6  *sic*), which

strated by the fact that many Hyksos kings have names composed with Rē, such as 'Great is the strength of Rē' and 'Rē is the Lord of the Scimitar'. Moreover, 'Awoserrē' Apophis is called 'the son of the body of Rē' and 'the Living Image of Rē on earth'. These epithets are written on a palette which the Royal Scribe Itju says that he received as a gift from his Lord, King Apophis.¹ These facts clearly show that the Hyksos rulers worshipped the Egyptian god Rē just as much as their own Sutekh-Ba'al.

That they also respected Egyptian civilization—despite Hatshepsut's assertion of the contrary—is apparent from the fact that a famous mathematical composition from the Twelfth Dynasty was copied by the scribe 'Aḥmosē in the thirty-third regnal year of this same King Apophis.²

To judge from the good Egyptian names of these scribes, the earlier Hyksos used Egyptian officials, and the fact that trade at Kerma in the far-off Sudan could continue without interruption when the Hyksos came into power also favours the view that the first Hyksos took over the earlier Egyptian administration together with its Egyptian personnel.

Distributed over the same area as the scarabs of King Sheshi and stylistically of the same type, there are numerous scarabs bearing the name and title of the Chancellor Hūr, who must have been one of the most important Hyksos officials towards the end of the first group of Hyksos rulers (fig. 3).³ The name is in all probability to be read Hūr, a Semitic word (Hebrew חור means 'the noble, the free-born'). Thus it is possible that this foreigner had administrative power over the whole of Egypt including the Nubian

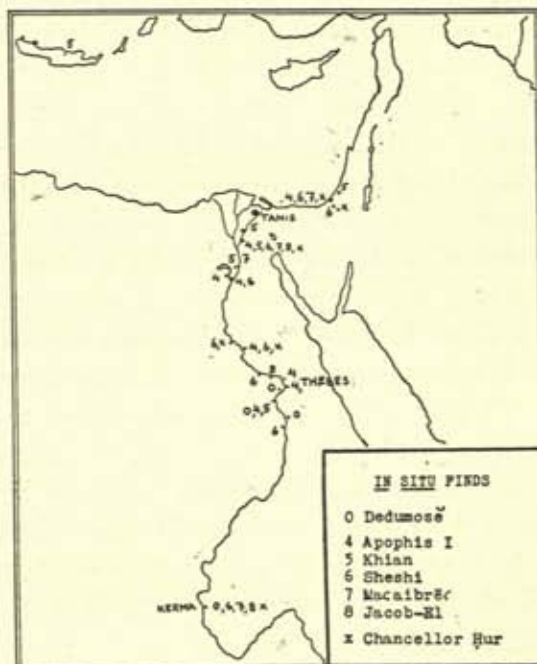


FIG. 3.

could perhaps be an equivalent of *n is m wd-ntr* = 'and not with (according to) divine command' (though I know no parallel to this use of *rf*). This rendering would be more in line with the beginning of Pap. Sallier I.

I cannot accept Czermak's rather sophisticated explanations (*Mél. Maspero*, I, 721 ff.). Hatshepsut's statement would, according to Czermak, be quite correct (p. 727), the Hyksos names with Rē would only be a conventionalism, so typical of many revolutions ('ohne den Widerspruch zu merken, legt sich ein Apōpi getrost noch den alten Rē bei', etc.) (p. 728), but when Kamosē, etc., calls himself 'beloved of Rē' 'steckt (darin) stolzer Widerspruch gegen den Apophis' (p. 729).

The 'propagandist' tendency of the Hatshepsut text can also be noticed in the references to Punt (ll. 13 f.; cf. my *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 13 ff.) and in phrases like 'my army, which was unequipped, has become possessed of riches since I arose as King' (l. 15).

¹ Labib, *op. cit.* 27. (It is strange that Labib, I, 2, n. 7, has no explanation to offer for the Hyksos names composed with Rē despite his general scepticism as regards Pap. Sallier I, pp. 36, 18 f.)

² Title of the mathematical Rhind Papyrus (Peet, *The Rhind Math. Pap.* 2). According to Möller (*Hierat. Paläographie*, I, 18) the famous Westcar Papyrus would be contemporary with the Rhind Papyrus. Perhaps the dedication to the temple of Denderah of a sistrum by a certain *Ipp* (= Apophis?) is a further indication of this respect for Egyptian traditions (cf. Erman, *ZAS* 39, 86 f.).

³ Cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 68 with ref. It may be pointed out that the same curious form of the *h*-bird also occurs

province and southern Palestine. Since he probably lived under one of the last Hyksos kings who still ruled this area, it is tempting to combine in one way or another the fact that he is a foreigner with the growing Egyptian opposition against the Hyksos. It is hard to say whether the use of such foreigners in a leading administrative position was one of the things that provoked Egyptian feeling against the Hyksos, or whether the growing opposition moved the Hyksos rather to rely on their own kind than on Egyptians who could no longer be trusted because of this Egyptian reaction against them.

Be this as it may, after these first great rulers there follows a second group of Hyksos from about 1610 B.C., which we may call the Sixteenth Dynasty. The names of these kings no longer occur on finds from Nubia and the southern part of Upper Egypt,¹ but are concentrated in the northern part of Egypt and in southern Palestine. Characteristic of this period is the conflict between the Hyksos and the Egyptians, and, as pointed out above, it seems that the innovations in the technique of warfare brought to Egypt by the Hyksos may archaeologically be dated to this time, when the political position of the Hyksos was threatened by the Egyptians.

From this time we have a most impressive little monument found in a tomb at Abydos.² It shows a sphinx with a royal head and a very Semitic face. With his claws he is massacring an Egyptian. If an Egyptian had taken such a piece as booty, he would in all probability have smashed and thrown away such a provocative picture rather than have it buried in his tomb. Hence the fact that it was found at Abydos may indicate that it dates from the times when the Hyksos still ruled this part of Upper Egypt, but when the feelings between Hyksos and Egyptians were already bitter on both sides.

In Upper Egypt local kinglets now attained a more and more independent position. In Thebes the first rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty in their royal titles pretend to be the legitimate rulers of Egypt, but they hardly ruled more than the immediate neighbourhood of Thebes and possibly even had to pay tribute to the Hyksos in the north. In all probability there were many other local dynasts in Upper Egypt at the same time, but it was the descendants of this line of Thebans who finally expelled the Hyksos.

The earlier history of the conflict is rather obscure. The main source is a tale from Ramesside times, i.e. written some centuries after the events, and moreover it is fragmentary.³ The theme is the conflict between a Hyksos king Apophis and the Theban king Seknenrē, who was the predecessor of the brothers Kamosē and Amosis, the kings who eventually drove out the Hyksos.

We are told that Egypt was in a state of pestilence at that time. The pestilence was in the town of the Asiatics, since King Apophis was in Avaris, and the entire land was

elsewhere at this time (cf. *JEA* 35, 53, and several Khian scarabs), which shows that Stock's alternative reading *Hwr* (with the *wr*-bird) is wrong.

¹ Stock, op. cit. 68; a Skha'nrē scarab from an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb in Aniba (Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 99, Abb. 18; cf. my *Äg. u. Nub.* 122) and a 'Ykb-mw' scarab in N.K. context from Buhen (MacIver-Woolley, *Buhen* 160, pl. 57: 10083) do not change the general picture.

² Garstang, *JEA* 14, 46 f. and pl. 7.

³ Pap. Sallier I; Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, 85 ff.; cf., for example, Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes Égyptiens*, 131 ff. with ref.

tributary to him. King Apophis had made Sutekh his lord, and did not serve any other god in the whole country. And he built a beautiful temple to Sutekh, and blasphemously worshipped this god in exactly the same way as the Egyptian sun-god Rē-Harakhti.

Seḫnenrē on the other hand was the ruler of Thebes and inclined to no other god in the entire land except Amen-Rē, King of the Gods. But, to judge from the words of the introduction, he paid tribute to the Hyksos. And when Apophis sends a messenger to Thebes with the preposterous accusation that the hippopotami in Thebes prevented him from sleeping in his palace in the Delta, Seḫnenrē receives the messenger in a friendly way, and seems to try to appease the Hyksos king by assuring him of his loyalty. The end of the story is not preserved, but probably related some victory of Seḫnenrē, the hero of the tale.

We do not know exactly which Apophis is referred to. Among the Hyksos of the Sixteenth Dynasty there are two kings with this name, Apophis 'Aḫnenrē and Apophis Nebkheperhrē. The former, we know from a contemporary inscription, built a temple (or at least part of a temple) to Seth of Avaris, and since the Apophis of the tale also did so, Seḫnenrē's opponent was possibly Apophis 'Aḫnenrē.¹ But, in any case, whichever Apophis it was, he had a name composed with Rē, and thus revered that god, a fact which clearly demonstrates the propagandist tendency of the tale (cf. above, pp. 64 f.).

It is difficult to find out the kernel of truth in this very late story, but it is quite possible that in the beginning of his reign Seḫnenrē still paid tribute to the Hyksos king, and that he was the one who began organized resistance against the foreigners. And perhaps it was this first effort that forced the Hyksos to acknowledge the independence of the Theban rulers.

The mummy of Seḫnenrē bears five terrible wounds in the head, but—as stated by Gunn and Gardiner—'the theory that these were received in the course of a battle with the Hyksos is certainly tempting, but belongs wholly to the realm of conjecture'.²

This political situation with an independent Upper Egyptian state is clearly alluded to in a text from the reign of Seḫnenrē's successor Kamosē (cf. fig. 4). Two versions are known, one on a contemporary stela, the other a somewhat later copy on a wooden tablet.³ Unfortunately the end of the story is destroyed here also.

¹ Labib, *op. cit.*, 28 ff.; cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 66 f., 70. Stock's arguments for assigning the shortened form *Tpp* exclusively to Nebkheperhrē are unfortunately not quite correct, as this form was also used by 'Awoserrē (on the bowl from the tomb of Amenophis I; *JEA* 3, 152, with pl. 21, 1) as a variant of the writing *Tppy*. Otherwise the longer writing *Tppy* of Pap. Sallier I would be an argument for identifying the Hyksos king of the tale with 'Aḫnenrē, since 'Awoserrē, who belongs to the earlier group of Hyksos, is out of the question; this would be the logical consequence of Stock's own argument, but he rejects it because of his wholly unwarranted assumption that the Egyptians later replaced the shorter form of the name with the longer. Nevertheless, he may be right in his view that Nebkheperhrē was the last Apophis, but this does not imply that Nebkheperhrē was the opponent of Seḫnenrē, as nothing indicates that Seḫnenrē and Kamosē fought against the same Hyksos king. The argument that 'Aḫnenrē and Seḫnenrē must be contemporaries because of the similarities of their names is, in my opinion, rather valueless. My own reason for the identification is, of course, not quite convincing, since both kings may well have built temples to Seth, even if it is known to us only of one of them.

On Winlock's impossible opinion (*op. cit.* 99, 145 f.) that there was only one Apophis who changed his name several times cf. *Bi. Or.* 6, 88, and Faulkner, *JEA* 34, 124.

² *JEA* 5, 43.

³ See Lacau, *Ann. Serv.* 39, 245 ff. with ref. (esp. *JEA* 3, 95 ff.; 5, 45 ff.).

The text is dated to the third regnal year of Kamosē, and after the dating formula the text continues:

The powerful King within Thebes, Kamosē, given life for ever, was beneficent King, and Rē [caused] him to be a veritable King, and handed over to him the power in very truth.

And His Majesty said in his palace to the council of grandees who were in his suite:—

'To what end am I cognizant of it, this my power, when one chieftain is in Avaris, and another in Kush, and I sit in league with an Asiatic and a Nubian, every man holding his slice of this Egypt? He who shares the land with me, I can not pass him as far as Memphis, which (properly) belongs to

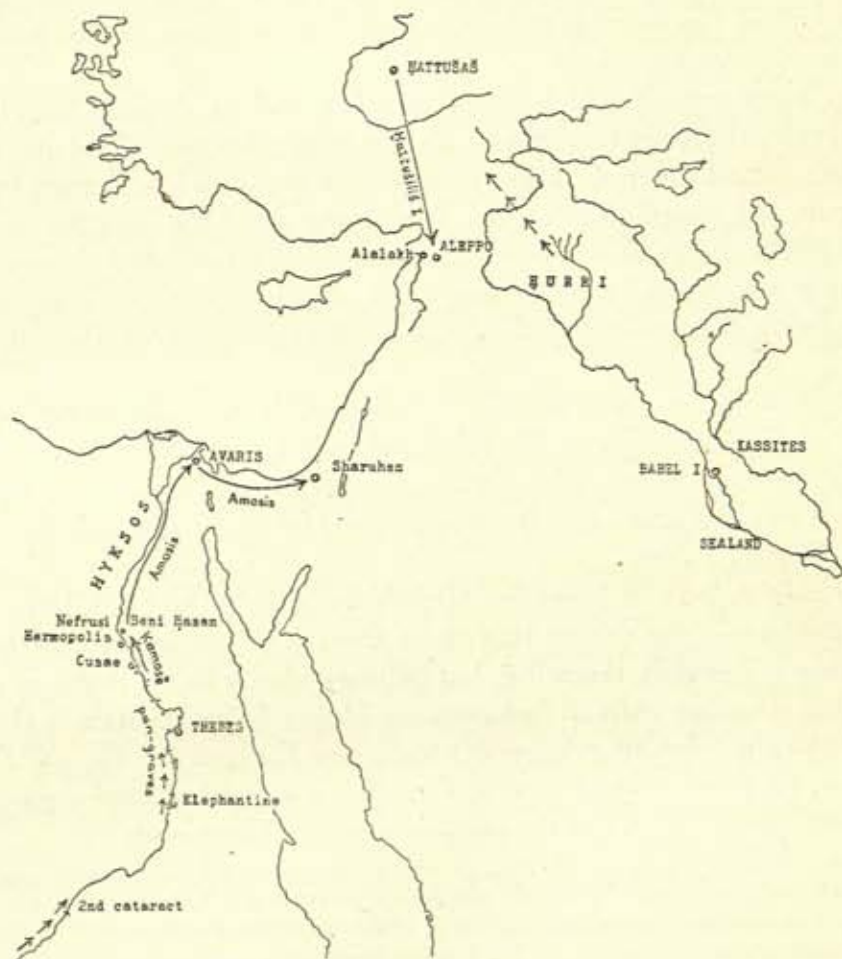


FIG. 4. The expulsion of the Hyksos

Egypt, because he holds Hermopolis. No man rests, being wasted through servitude of the Asiatics. I will grapple with him and rip open his belly, for my desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite the Asiatics.'

And the grandees of his Council said:

'Behold, the territory of the Asiatics (goes) as far as Cusae', they strained their tongues, speaking in a single way (= they said in chorus).¹ 'But we are at ease holding our (part of) Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the midland is with us as far as Cusae. Men till for us the finest of their land; our

¹ This very plausible rendering I owe to Dr. J. Barns.

cattle are grazing in the Delta. Spelt is sent for our swine. Our cattle are not taken away, and there is no attack on . . . therefore. He holds the land of the Asiatics, we hold Egypt. But [whoever] comes to land and [attack us], we will oppose him.'

And they were displeasing to the heart of His Majesty.

The ensuing speech of the king is fragmentary, but we can see that he declares that he will 'expel the one who shares the land with him', that he will 'proceed northwards to seize (?) [him]' and 'success will come'. 'The entire land [shall acclaim] the powerful ruler within Thebes, Kamosē the protector of Egypt.'

According to de Buck¹ it is a conventional theme that, before an important decision, the king has an interview with his grandees, and that these then expose all the difficulties of the plan proposed by the king, advising him not to try this difficult enterprise. But even if we have here to do with a literary device serving to throw into relief the king's decision and brave act, this does not mean that the words of the grandees give us a false picture of the real situation. In contrast to the later descriptions of the Hyksos rule, the speech of the grandees gives us a more favourable picture of the situation. They admit that the Nubians are now no longer under Egyptian rule, but the frontier is well fortified at Elephantine, so the Nubians cannot threaten Kamosē's territory. The Hyksos still rule great parts of Egypt up to Cusae, but even this situation is not without its advantages. The Hyksos are not regarded only as cruel and oppressive godless barbarians—the usual picture in the later sources—it is possible to make a deal with them and to live in peace with them. The Thebans are permitted to breed cattle in the Delta, despite the fact that this belongs to the Hyksos territory, and nobody takes away their cattle.

This more sympathetic attitude towards the Hyksos is hardly a mere literary device to yield a contrast to the view held by Kamosē before he starts the war. The same lack of hatred, if I may say so, is perhaps reflected by a slightly later archaeological find, that has often puzzled scholars who have chiefly relied on the more unsympathetic description of the Hyksos in the later sources.² In the tomb of Amenophis I, who died about half a century after Kamosē and at about the same time when the Kamosē inscription was copied on a writing-board, there was found a fragment of an alabaster vase, bearing the name of 'Awoserrē' Apophis and 'the King's daughter Herit'. There is not the slightest trace of erasure, and the fact that an object inscribed with the name of a Hyksos, whom the Egyptians are supposed always to have hated bitterly, was found in the tomb of an Egyptian king may indicate that the earlier kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty had a more unbiased opinion of the Hyksos than that which is reflected in the later sources.

In his answer to the courtiers Kamosē does not seem to take up the motive hinted at in his first speech, namely that his compatriots in Lower Egypt are ill treated by the Hyksos, but stresses the point that he cannot bear that another ruler should share the land with him. His policy may, with a more modern expression, be characterized with

¹ *Het typische en het individuele bij de Egyptenaren*, Leiden, 1929, 16 f.

² Carter, *JEA*, 3, 152, with pl. 21, 1; cf. Winlock, *op. cit.* 147. Both these scholars assume an otherwise unknown relationship between the Hyksos king and some ruler of Dyn. XVII.

the words: 'Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer'. And just as when these words were used in modern times we are not quite certain whether the people in question really wanted to be liberated, so it may not be certain that the Egyptians preferred to pay tribute to Kamosē instead of to the Hyksos. There are certain circumstances which may justify these doubts.

The first enemy who is attacked by Kamosē is a certain Teti, the son of Piōpi, in the frontier town Nefrusi. This man may well have been an Egyptian, to judge from his name, and he is also said to have 'made Nefrusi into a nest for the Asiatics', a phrasing which suggests that he is an Egyptian who has sided with the Hyksos, the more so since it seems to stand as a contrast to Kamosē's utterance: 'I turned back the Asiatics who had encroached upon (?) Egypt.'¹ We can see that the local dynasts disappear when the Thebans come into power, and it seems likely that they did not give in without resistance and that some of them may have preferred the Hyksos, who had a rather loose control over the country, to judge from the rise of the Seventeenth Dynasty itself.

Be this as it may, in an official text describing the first successes we can hardly expect to find more explicit allusions to such conditions, but the official version must of course be that Kamosē was greeted with enthusiasm by the population as the liberator of the country. That is how such a story runs in our days, too.

In the rather short description of the beginning of the war Medjay-troops are mentioned twice and seem to have played an important role. We know that the Medjay were a tribe from the tracts south of Egypt, and the Medjay-troops in the Kamosē text should certainly be associated with the so-called Pan-graves which are found at this time in great numbers from the First Cataract to the neighbourhood of Cusae, i.e. distributed over an area exactly corresponding to Kamosē's territory (cf. fig. 4).² The contents of these tombs clearly show that they belong to a warlike tribe from Nubia and the Sudan equipped with Egyptian weapons. On an ox-skull one of these barbarian warriors that were called in by the Thebans to help them against the Hyksos is depicted.³ He is a typical Hamite, dressed in a loin-cloth and bearing an Egyptian battle-axe and a sling.

We have also a contemporary picture that gives us an idea of what the Hyksos warriors looked like. From the reign of the Hyksos king Apophis Nebkheperšrē there is a dagger found in a tomb at Saqqārah.⁴ This king may well have been Kamosē's opponent. The dagger was found in the tomb of the Semite *ʿbd*, and originally belonged to another Semitic warrior, 'His Lord's follower *Nḥmn*'.

Nḥmn has rather a Semitic look, and his weapons, a lance, a short, presumably compound, bow, and a sword or a dagger, are probably of an Asiatic type. The type of the

¹ I cannot accept Newberry's conclusion (*PSBA* 35, 117 ff.; cf. *JEA* 3, 110) that this Teti was a son of a Hyksos king Apophis, here written in the short form *Ppi*. Scarabs of the '*Ppi*-type' (cf. Stock, *op. cit.* 45. 66 f.) are probably of an earlier date, since such seal-impressions occur in the factory of Kerma, an administrative centre certainly destroyed before Kamosē's reign (cf. my *Äg. u. Nub.* 109. 128 ff.).

² Cf. my *Äg. u. Nub.* 135 ff.; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, 1, 73* ff.; II, 271* f.

³ Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 76.

⁴ *Ann. Serv.* 7, pl. opp. p. 116; cf. Furumark, *The Settlement at Ialysos* (*Opuscula Archaeol.* VI, Lund, 1950), 218 with ref.

dagger itself with its inlaid handle is a new, possibly Asiatic type, too, in fact one of the oldest known specimens of this very perfect and efficient type.¹ The decoration also gives an Asiatic impression, and we may compare it, for example, with a scarab from Jericho.² We have here a style of Syro-Palestinian origin, and the same technique of decoration is also found on Syrian jewellery.³

This picture clearly demonstrates the fact that the Hyksos had close contact with Asia, whence they drew their technical strength in warfare during the last decisive struggles against the Egyptians who, in their turn, relied on their African hinterland. Thus the War of Liberation gives the impression of a struggle between Asia and Africa.

Since the end of Kamosē's text is not preserved, we do not know how far he succeeded in pushing the Hyksos northwards. Under his brother and successor Amosis came the final victory. A naval officer, 'Aḥmosē, the son of Ebana, tells us that Avaris fell after a siege, and that Sharuhēn in southern Palestine was then beleaguered for three years.⁴ Sharuhēn must have been a Hyksos stronghold in southern Palestine and is probably identical with Tell Far'ah, which Petrie called Beth Peleth in his excavation report.⁵

With the fall of this fortress the danger in the north was averted and the power of the Hyksos was broken, at least for the time being. That this was so can be seen from the fact that Amosis now turned to the south and recaptured Lower Nubia up to Buhen at the Second Cataract. Had the Hyksos still been an imminent danger in the north, this would not have been possible.

Through the Hyksos the Egyptians had taken over many important innovations in the technique of war from Asia, and soon grew into one of the mightiest states in the Near East, conquering also an empire in the north. During the later campaigns in Asia, the Egyptians learnt still more of the new technique in warfare that had been highly specialized as a result of the introduction of the full use of horse-drawn chariots. In Egypt, as well as in other countries, the wars were now fought by professional soldiers who had learnt their profession from childhood and were paid with fiefs—land received as a gift from the king which stayed in the family only as long as a member of it still fought in His Majesty's army.⁶

As a result of the Hyksos occupation Egypt not only changed its habits with regard to warfare and other technical details but also its internal political organization and mental character. From now on begins what we may call the age of chivalry in the Near East.

¹ Cf. Winlock, *op. cit.*, 159 f. with ref.; Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1930, 97 ff.; Wainwright, *Ann. Serv.* 25, 135 ff.; Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Daggers and Swords in Western Asia (Iraq, 8, 1 ff.)*. This dagger and that of 'Aḥnenrē' (*JEA* 11, pl. 25) seem to be the earliest known instances of the type, a fact which complicates the problem regarding its origin.

² Rowe, *Catalogue of Egypt. Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeol. Mus.* pl. 2: 69, p. 20; cf. Furumark, *loc. cit.*, n. 8.

³ Montet, *Les Reliques de l'art syrien*, 130 ff.

⁴ *Urk.* iv, 3 ff.

⁵ Cf. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, 53, 187; id. *Bull. ASOR* 33, 7; de Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven*, Delft, 1940, § 375 with ref.

⁶ Helck, *Der Einfluß der Militärführer*, 17 f.; cf. my *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 84.

THE OWLS IN ANCIENT EGYPT¹

By the late PERCY E. NEWBERRY

MEINERTZHAGEN (*Nicoll's Birds of Egypt*, 349-64) records eight species of Owl from Egypt and Sinai, and Lortet and Gaillard (*La Faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte*, 167-70) claim to have identified from mummified remains six species. Meinertzhagen (p. 74), however, questions the accuracy of these identifications and considers it doubtful whether some of the closely allied forms in the list can be distinguished by examination of the somewhat unsatisfactory remains so often presented by mummies. Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, III, 51) recognized three species figured on the monuments: (1) the Eagle Owl; (2) the Barn or White Owl; and (3) the Small Owl. Griffith (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 20) noted that the type used for the hieroglyph  *m* 'varies but is not long-eared until very late times'; this has now been found to be incorrect, for the type invariably employed in the Protodynastic period is the Eagle Owl and this bird occurs sporadically from Dyn. III throughout dynastic times. From Dyn. III the common type for the hieroglyph *m* is the Barn Owl.² Gardiner (*Eg. Gramm.*, pp. 27, 460) named the bird  of his hieroglyphic fount 'the Eagle Owl—*Bubo ascalaphus*', but it has no ears and is clearly the Barn Owl.³ The third species mentioned by Wilkinson—the Small Owl—is round-headed and only appears in texts of the Saite and Ptolemaic periods. All three owls, unlike other birds figured as hieroglyphs, are drawn with body in profile and head full-faced. In one fowling scene from a Dyn. XVIII tomb at Thebes two Barn Owls are depicted in a papyrus marsh;⁴ one is represented with wings outspread, the other is figured three-quarter face standing upon its nest which is full of eggs.

In linear hieroglyphic writing the Owl is generally 'eared' and is represented either erect or squatting.

In hieratic writing the Eagle and the Barn Owls are distinctly differentiated.  is the Eagle Owl and  the Barn Owl. The first is the only form used in the Old Kingdom and is common in the Middle Kingdom, but after Dyn. XVIII rarely occurs except in ligatures. Möller (*Hieratische Palaeographie*, I, no. 196) incorrectly gives  as the Barn Owl and  as the same bird 'abgekürzte Form'. This last form does not appear before Dyn. XI and is derived from the Barn Owl with its legs cut off , see *inter alia*, de Morgan, *Dahchour*, 90, and note the rare form with legs  (Möller, op. cit. II,

¹ An article originally intended for publication in the volume of *JEA* dedicated to Sir Alan Gardiner, and found by Mr. I. E. S. Edwards among the late Professor Newberry's papers.

² Cotteville-Giraudet, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud*, 1931, asserts that the Small Owl is the prototype of the hieroglyph *m*, but this bird is round-headed and never appears before Dyn. XXVI.

³ In the second edition of the *Grammar*, p. 469, the sign is described simply as 'owl' and reference is made in n. 1 to Professor Newberry's identification with the Barn Owl. (Ed.)

⁴ Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroé*, II, pl. 75. This scene is now in the Louvre, see Vandier, *Les antiquités égyptiennes au Musée du Louvre*, p. 64, pl. 14, 2.

no. 196, Gurôb). After Dyn. XXII the hieratic form  disappears except in certain ligatures mentioned below. Griffith (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 20) drew attention to the curious use of  in *Pyr.* 962-3 where it stands as determinative of  *hsk* 'chop off' the head or limb, while in *Pyr.* 635 ¹ is the symbol of the same word. 'Perhaps', wrote Griffith, 'this points to the Owl being a bird of ill omen, which it was desirable to behead when caught.' It is remarkable that when mummified Eagle Owls have been examined all have been beheaded.²

The hieratic for  is  at Hatnub (Anthes, *Hatnub*, 22, 11, Dyn. X or XI) but from Dyn. XII onwards it is invariably ligatured  (Möller, op. cit. I, no. ix). Note that Möller, op. cit. III, no. vi should be corrected to . From the Old Kingdom onwards the ligature for  is written with the 'eared' bird except in one instance, *Simuhe* B 45, where the Barn Owl occurs. In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus 10, 8, and 59, 1,  = , and  = : similar 'eared' forms appear in later manuscripts (Möller, op. cit. III, no. ix).

Champollion (*Précis du Système hiérog.* 312; *Dict. Égyptien*, 139) noted that the Coptic name of the Owl named *νυκτοκόραξ* by the Greeks, is *ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭ*, and Griffith (*Hieroglyphs*, p. 20) suggested that, to account for the phonetic value of the hieroglyph  *m*, this is possibly a compound of which the first element *m* (?) represents the ancient name of the bird. Sethe (*Der Ursprung des Alphabet*, 153) gives *ⲙⲟⲩ* 'Eule' without query-mark, but the word is not recognized by Crum in his *Coptic Dictionary*. The name of the Eagle Owl in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 24, 31; 27, 9 is  *mwld*. Here the determinative of the bird is 'eared' but its legs are omitted: this sign is obviously derived from the linear hieroglyphic form . It is employed in the same demotic document as determinative of several bird-names—*byn* 'heron', *bk* 'falcon', *nsr* 'vulture', *hb* 'ibis', *kwkwpt* 'hoopoe', etc.—where it replaces the older generic determinative , though this sign is retained in writing *smnw* 'goose'. It is interesting to note in this connexion that in the enigmatical writing system of the New Kingdom  replaces  for some unknown reason.³

In the Cairo Museum there is a schist palette No. 14238⁴ which records the dismantlement of seven Predynastic Western Delta fortresses by Upper and Middle Egyptian chieftains. The first fortress bore the name  'Eagle Owl-city'. No Owl-city is recorded on later monuments and it is only in the light of what is known of the history of the predynastic period that any hint can be obtained as to its identification. It is the largest of the seven cities figured and that it was the most important is shown by its being attacked by the Falcon chieftain, the leader of the allied clans of the south. At least four of the cities were situated in the Western Delta and the olive-trees of Tjheny-land adjoining the Western Delta are shown on the reverse of the palette among the booty captured in the campaign. I suggest that Owl-city was the capital of the region conquered and that it was the seat of the early rulers who wore the Red

¹ Note also  on the Palermo Stone (Schaefer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, 16).

² Lortet and Gaillard, op. cit. 167.

³ *ZÄS*, 1874, Renouf, 101-5; Renouf, *Life Work*, III, 121, 125; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72, 27.

⁴ *PSBA* 22, pl. 5.

SUR L'EMPLOI DE L'ENCRE ROUGE DANS LES MANUSCRITS ÉGYPTIENS

Par GEORGES POSENER

DANS *JEA* 35, 77 ff., j'ai examiné certains effets de la signification défavorable de la couleur rouge sur l'utilisation des rubriques. Dans les pages qui suivent on trouvera quelques remarques sur leur emploi¹ en dehors de toute considération religieuse ou magique et abstraction faite de leur rôle décoratif.

D'abord, le côté matériel de la question. Pour écrire en deux couleurs sans les mélanger, le scribe doit ou laver le pinceau à chaque changement d'encre, ce qui est peu pratique, ou se servir des deux bouts du roseau,² ou en utiliser une paire. Le dernier procédé est illustré par les représentations de scribes au travail tenant un calame dans la main droite et portant un autre à l'oreille.³ Les manipulations se font avec une seule main, et la gauche ne doit pas lâcher le papyrus.⁴ Néanmoins, l'opération demande quelques instants et distrait l'attention du texte. On comprendra qu'au contact des couleurs, se trouvent les points faibles des manuscrits et qu'on y rencontre des exemples de dittographie⁵ et de signes sautés,⁶ comme aux changements de page ou de ligne. Sans doute, pour gagner du temps, le scribe peut-il écrire tout ce qui est noir en laissant des espaces vides pour les mots ou signes rouges; il les intercale ensuite d'une seule traite, parfois en même temps qu'il ponctue son texte.⁷ Le procédé se reconnaît aux erreurs caractéristiques qu'il engendre,⁸ notamment, dans la première

¹ Möller traite la question en quelques mots dans *Hierat. Pal.* I, 4; II, 5; III, 4. Voir aussi Grapow, *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung äg. Texte* (LÄS VII), 51 ff. ² Ex. ap. Glanville, *JEA* 18, 55 f.

³ Klebs, *Reliefs AR*, 39. Ces scènes sont surtout fréquentes sous l'A. E., et les scribes ont très souvent deux pinceaux derrière l'oreille (par ex. Junker, *Giza*, v, 43. 45. 89; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, 13. 68A. 87), parfois un pinceau à chaque oreille (op. cit. III, 51; Leps., *Denkm.* II, 30. 51), ce qui fait trois, quand ils en ont déjà un à la main. Lorsqu'ils ne le manient pas, le troisième roseau disparaît au lieu d'aller grossir le nombre de ceux qui se trouvent à l'oreille (par ex. Junker, *Giza*, II, pl. 6b; VI, 115; Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi*, II, pl. 18). Il est possible que l'artiste n'ait pas voulu encombrer la coiffure du scribe; peut-être était-on habitué à la silhouette du rond-de-cuir avec ses deux calames ornant la tête, et les lui laissait-on souvent, en le représentant en train d'écrire, quand, en réalité, il ne restait plus qu'un à l'oreille. La dernière explication est peut-être préférable, car elle permet de réduire le nombre de pinceaux employés conjointement à la paire qui suffit pour les deux encres. Les pinceaux de rechange pouvaient attendre dans l'étui.

⁴ Voir le geste du scribe glissant un pinceau à l'oreille (ou le retirant?) dans Junker, *Giza*, III, 72; Leps., *Denkm.* II, 51. 54.

⁵ Par ex. *n* écrit deux fois, la première en rouge, la deuxième en noir, P. Sall. II, 3, 9; P. Bremner-Rhind, 23, 4; tout un passage répété, Golénischeff, *Pap. hiérat.* (CCG), No. 58030, 13, 10.

⁶ Par ex. *ln* omis après une rubrique, P. Beatty IV, rt. 7, 1; *pp* omis en tête de la rubrique et ajouté dans la marge, P. Bremner-Rhind, 30, 7; qualification du jour sautée au contact de couleurs, Calendrier du P. Sall. IV, 7, 6; 8, 10; 17, 1; dernier signe de la rubrique omis, P. Beatty VI, rt. 5, 10.

⁷ Cf. P. Anast. II où ponctuation et signes de la pause — rouges s'arrêtent à la même p. 8; relevé par Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Misc.* (Bibl. ég. VII), 142a. Cf. aussi P. Leide 350.

⁸ Autres indices: signes rouges serrés ou espacés, larges ou étroits, quand le scribe a mal calculé la longueur du blanc, cf. Griffith, *PSBA* 11, 169, à propos de P. d'Orbiney, 8, 5; encre rouge recouvrant la noire à la fin d'une rubrique (ceci nécessite l'examen des originaux). — Piehl, *ZÄS* 24, 78, et Read, *PSBA* 38, 25, ont voulu

phase du travail, on oublie de réserver les blancs,¹ et dans la deuxième, on omet de les combler.² Le système est pratique seulement pour les rubriques courtes et peu variées, pour la copie et non pour la rédaction; il convient rarement à la dictée.³ Même obtenue ainsi, la bichromie reste fastidieuse pour l'exécutant,⁴ et, quel que soit le procédé employé, il n'est pas rare que l'encre rouge disparaisse avant la fin du papyrus.⁵

Malgré le ralentissement du travail qu'elle occasionne, la bichromie a été d'un usage constant dans les manuscrits soignés. Elle est bien antérieure aux papyrus les plus anciens connus,⁶ si l'on juge d'après les palettes de scribe qui portent deux cavités pour les encres.⁷ Au Moyen Empire, les règles d'emploi des deux couleurs sont bien établies et, dans certaines catégories de textes, les ressources qu'offre leur contraste exploitées à fond.⁸ Pour la quantité de rubriques, quelques documents d'Illahoun,⁹ le P. Boulaq XVIII¹⁰ ou certains passages des Coffin Texts¹¹ soutiennent honorablement la comparaison avec les manuscrits postérieurs les plus colorés.¹² A la même époque, les copistes des belles-lettres manquent parfois d'expérience dans le maniement de la rubrique.¹³ La correction des papyrus littéraires se fait encore à l'encre noire,¹⁴ tandis

expliquer par la copie en deux temps certaines anomalies du Calendrier du P. Sall. IV, mais, autant qu'on puisse juger d'après les publications du MS., il n'a pas été écrit de cette façon. On a l'impression, en effet, que les signes noirs passent sur les rouges à la fin de certaines rubriques, c'est-à-dire leur sont postérieurs.

¹ La rubrique est alors omise, voir les exx. réunis par Gardiner, loc. cit., sous le titre '(terminal ←) omitted for no apparent reason', ou inscrite à sa place tant bien que mal, cf. Blackman, *M.-Eg. Stories*, 10, 12; 12, 9, où il s'agit aussi de →.

² Cf. Gardiner, op. cit. 142 *in fine*.

³ Par ex. quand le rouge se limite au signe de la pause.

⁴ Il s'ensuit que toute particularité dans l'emploi des couleurs, même rare, comme celle signalée dans *JEA* 35, 77 ff., a une raison sérieuse aux yeux du scribe, du moment qu'elle exige un effort supplémentaire de sa part.

⁵ Par ex. Paysan B I, Sinouhe R, P. math. Moscou, P. Beatty IV, vs., P. Berlin 3055; dans le P. Ermitage 1116A, rt., la ponctuation s'arrête avant les rubriques qui continuent jusqu'au colophon, comparer *supra*, p. 75, n. 7. A la fin d'Horus et Seth, les rubriques se raréfient et le colophon est noir, cf. Gardiner, *L.-Eg. Stories*, 60a, 16, 8b. D'une façon générale, les premières pages d'un MS. nous éclairent mieux que les dernières sur les bonnes intentions du copiste. Ainsi la particularité relevée dans *JEA* 35, 77 ff., ne se rencontre qu'au début des MSS.

⁶ En majeure partie inédits. L'encre rouge est signalée dans les P. d'Abousir (V^e dyn.) par Borchardt dans *Aegyptiaca Ebers*, 9 et 10, n. 2; *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, 44. Elle est très rare dans les P. d'Éléphantine (VI^e dyn.), car ce sont des lettres (cf. à ce sujet *infra*, p. 78); voir pourtant *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, 3, pl. 5, P 10523 [D] 105 et pl. 7, P 10523 [Cm] 71 vs.; Str. Da.

⁷ On en connaît depuis la I^{re} dyn., Scharff, *Arch. Beiträge zur Frage der Entstehung der Hieroglyphenschrift* (*Sitzb. München*, 1942, 3), 54-5. Normalement, la cavité la plus éloignée du milieu sert à l'encre noire, la plus rapprochée à la rouge, cf. Glanville, *JEA* 18, 53 ff. (exx. depuis la VI^e dyn.).

⁸ Il serait instructif d'examiner à ce point de vue les papyrus les plus anciens.

⁹ Par ex. Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 10. 15. 22. 24.

¹⁰ Cf. aussi *JEA* 27, pl. 9-9A; 31, pl. 6-6a.

¹¹ En particulier CT II, 272 ff.

¹² Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* 1, 4, a tort de généraliser en affirmant que les rubriques sont surtout fréquentes à partir de l'époque hyksôs.

¹³ Ainsi, la fin de ligne et non le sens détermine souvent l'arrêt des rubriques, cf. Sin. B, 263; Paysan B I, 95. 108. 124. 150; P. Prisse, 6, 3; 8, 2; 9, 7, etc.; la première rubrique de Sin. B est à la l. 178 (le début du pap. manque). — Les rubriques mises mal à propos ne sont pas particulières aux MSS. du M.E.; on en trouve à toutes les époques, cf. pour Sin. B, Gardiner, *Sinouhe*, 82, et pour l'Onomasticon Golénischeff, Gardiner, *Onomastica, Text*, 1, 36; comparer le désaccord sur la position des rubriques entre les différentes copies de l'Enseignement à Merikarê, à consulter dans Volten, *Zwei altäg. politische Schriften* (*AAe*, IV); voir aussi Amenemope, 8, 6; 12, 11.

¹⁴ Par ex. Sin. B, *passim*; Sin. R, 41; Naufragé, 10-11; Paysan B I, 68. 172. 305 (Gardiner, *JEA* 9, 22-24); B 2, 100; R, 21. Exemple isolé de correction rouge: Sin. B, 189.

que les Coffin Texts utilisent déjà à cette fin la rouge,¹ ce qui constitue un progrès. C'est aux textes religieux que les littéraires empruntent le signe de la pause — pour marquer la fin des chapitres.² La ponctuation, qui dérive peut-être d'un genre de pointage employé dans les comptes et les états d'Illahoun,³ apparaît, autant qu'on puisse le savoir, seulement au début du Nouvel Empire.⁴ Ces retards et ce manque d'originalité pourraient indiquer que les belles-lettres ont été parmi les derniers genres à accéder à l'écriture; l'absence d'un corps de scribes spécialisés dans la copie littéraire suffirait à les expliquer. Les vraies traditions scripturales sont celles du clergé et de la bureaucratie. Les souscriptions de certains papyrus littéraires⁵ et, sur d'autres, la présence de textes de nature différente,⁶ nous apprennent qu'ils étaient issus des milieux de l'administration. De là viennent quelques-uns de leurs emplois du rouge qui n'ont leur raison d'être que dans les documents d'affaires.⁷

La décadence de l'enluminure, comme ses progrès, n'a pas été simultanée dans les différentes catégories de manuscrits. Les rédacteurs des écrits juridiques et administratifs, qui ont été parmi les premiers à mettre au point l'usage de la bichromie, l'abandonnent avant les copistes des textes religieux et littéraires.⁸ En démotique, la rubrique ne se maintient que dans les papyrus magiques et religieux.⁹

A toutes les époques, les règles d'emploi utilitaire de l'encre rouge ont été sensiblement les mêmes. Elle sert (1) à mettre en évidence, (2) à diviser, (3) à isoler et (4) à différencier. Il serait artificiel de répartir tous les faits sous ces quatre titres; les scribes ne donnent pas leurs raisons, et dans de nombreux cas, différents motifs sont possibles qui d'ailleurs ne s'excluent pas réciproquement. Une seule rubrique a souvent une double fonction. Ainsi, au début d'un manuscrit, on fait ressortir à l'aide de la couleur titre, incipit, en-tête ou date; mais dans le corps du texte les mêmes rubriques soulignent et divisent en même temps. On met encore en évidence certains éléments importants, tels que les passages marquants dans les œuvres littéraires,¹⁰ les totaux dans la comptabilité,¹¹ les quantités des drogues dans les papyrus médicaux.¹² Dans les deux derniers

¹ Par ex. CT I, 9c; II, 161d. 182b. 183c. 280e. 282b; le rouge sert surtout à biffer les signes superflus ou erronés.

² Courant dans les CT; les MSS. littéraires du M.E. l'ignorent. Pour le N. E., cf. van de Walle, *Transmission des textes litt. ég.*, 21, n. 2.

³ Par ex. Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 14. 20. 22; ZÄS 40, 114.

⁴ Elle est bien attestée sous le règne d'Aménophis II, cf. P. Ermitage 1116A, rt.; 'Lederhandschrift' P 3029 de Berlin; Pleyte, *Pap. Rollin*, pl. 15. Ponctuation (noire?) sur l'O. 147 de Senmout, Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones* (MMA, *Eg. Exp. Publ.*, xv), pl. 26 (Thoutmosis III).

⁵ Voir les remarques d'Erman, *Äg. Schülerhandschr.* (Abh. Berlin 1925, 2), 20-22, au sujet des souscriptions des pap. Sall., Anast. et d'Orbiney; cf. aussi P. Beatty III.

⁶ Voir sur les P. Ermitage 1116A et B et sur le P. Beatty I, van de Walle, op. cit. 14.

⁷ Par ex. — 'total' rubriqué dans P. Anast. I, 17, 4; quantité de la céréale *bd* rouge dans P. d'Orbiney, 3, 5, cf. à ce sujet *infra*. Voir aussi les chiffres rouges, Horus et Seth, 13, 8. 12.

⁸ Les documents rédigés en hiératique anormal ignorent l'encre rouge.

⁹ Par ex. P. Leide 384, P. Louvre 3229.

¹⁰ C'est sans doute le sens des rubriques dans Paysan B 1, 95. 132; P. d'Orbiney, 18, 5; 19, 2-3.

¹¹ Au M. E. *dmḏ* est noir, le chiffre rouge, Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 15-17. 21. 23; P. Boulaq XVIII, *passim*; ZÄS 40, 114. Au N. E. *dmḏ* peut être rouge aussi, P. Harris I, *passim*; parfois *dmḏ* est rouge et le chiffre noir, P. Abbott, 3, 16. 18; P. Brit. Mus. 10068, *passim*.

¹² Au M. E. seulement les quantités de solides, Griffith, op. cit. 5; extension aux autres produits dans les MSS. plus récents, P. Ebers, P. Smith, 20-21, P. Hearst, etc.

cas le rouge sert aussi à isoler. Dans cet emploi, il peut se comparer à nos parenthèses lorsqu'on l'utilise, comme c'est l'usage fréquent dans les papyrus médicaux, magiques et religieux, pour écrire $\equiv$,¹ $\uparrow \circ \uparrow \downarrow$,² $\odot +$ chiffre,³ la description d'un rite manuel⁴ et en général ce qui concerne la mise en œuvre du manuscrit.⁵ Le rouge s'impose encore pour le colophon;⁶ il est pratique pour les marques de division $\rightarrow$, $=$, $-$ ⁷ et la ponctuation qui, autrement, se confondraient avec les signes à lire ou pourraient passer inaperçues. Ici encore on peut citer les corrections, plus claires lorsqu'elles sont portées en rouge.⁸ Toujours pour dissocier, le scribe qui n'emploie guère de rouge dans la correspondance, s'en servira au Moyen Empire pour le brouillon de réponse qu'il pourra ainsi écrire entre les lignes de la lettre reçue⁹ ou à sa suite,¹⁰ sans danger de confusion.¹¹ Des cas intéressants de différenciation se trouvent dans les états et les comptes du Moyen Empire. La bichromie y est utilisée, entre autres, pour distinguer les noms des surnoms, les premiers noirs, les autres rubriqués;¹² pour dissocier les céréales, les quantités de *swt* 'froment' et de *bdt* 'épeautre' s'écrivant en rouge.¹³ Le Nouvel Empire maintient l'usage pour les nombres des mesures de *bdt*.¹⁴ A la même époque, le rouge sert aussi pour les nombres de têtes de gros bétail.¹⁵

Les dates mentionnées plus haut comportent une particularité sur laquelle il convient de revenir. Elles débutent régulièrement par l'année en noir, suivie de mois, saison et jour rubriqués.¹⁶ On a voulu expliquer cet usage par le caractère divin de l'année qui interdirait l'emploi de l'encre rouge,¹⁷ et on a invoqué à l'appui de cette thèse $\uparrow \circ \uparrow \downarrow$ qui désigne les 5 jours épagomènes, interprété comme une inversion respectueuse.¹⁸ L'argument est mal choisi, car cette expression ne contient pas le terme 'année de règne', mais le mot désignant l'année civile. Or, autant que je puisse voir, les scribes font une discrimination entre les deux vocables, réservent l'encre noire à *hwt-sp*¹⁹ + chiffre et ne se gênent pas d'écrire *rnpt* en rouge,²⁰ montrant par là qu'ils

¹ Par ex. P. Ebers, 2, 3; 16, 4; 5; P. méd. Londres, 14, 3; 15, 8; Budge, *Bk. Dead, Text*, 67.

² Par ex. P. Ebers, 1, 4; 30, 11; 14; P. Hearst, 6, 7; 14, 2; P. Leide, 347, 3, 9; 14; 5, 8.

³ Isolément, P. mag. Harris, 7, 8; P. Bremner-Rhind, 22, 7; en fin de rubrique, id. 22, 17; 23, 2, 4; 5; P. méd. Londres, 1, 2.

⁴ Par ex. CT 1, 156-7, etc.; P. Berlin 3031, 2, 7 ff.; Pleyte-Rossi, *P. Turin*, 131, 7. Les exceptions sont rares.

⁵ Wreszinski, *Der Londoner Med. Pap. und der Pap. Hearst*, xiv-xv. Comparer aux rubriques des bréviaires et des missels indiquant la manière de célébrer l'office.

⁶ Dès le M. E.: P. Ermitage 1115, 186-9; Sin. B, 311; Misanthrope, 154-5; Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 4, 27; 8, 62.

⁷ Courant déjà dans les CT; les traits de séparation simples ou doubles sont caractéristiques pour ces textes.

⁸ Le record de corrections est détenu, je crois, par le P. Leide 347.

⁹ P. Berlin 10016 et 10023B, cf. Scharff, *ZÄS* 59, 21 et pl. 2-3; Möller, *Hierat. Pal.* 1, pl. 5.

¹⁰ Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 32, 13-19; ce peut être la réponse réelle et non un brouillon; 22, 1-9, copie d'une lettre et de la réponse, cette dernière en rouge; une lettre écrite en rouge, 34, 1-10.

¹¹ Voir aussi les additions en rouge dans P. Wilbour, texte B.

¹² Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 10, 11, 13-15, 24, 25.

¹³ Ainsi que parfois le nom de ces graminées et, semble-t-il, les quantités de farine et de pain qu'elles servent à fabriquer, Gunn, *JEA* 27, 157. Voir déjà Griffith, *Kah. Pap., Text*, 65.

¹⁴ Et souvent les totaux qui les comprennent, Gardiner, *JEA* 27, 26-27.

¹⁵ P. Harris I, *passim*; pour distinguer du petit bétail?

¹⁶ Les exceptions sont rares; par ex. Sin. R, 5; P. math. Rhind, Y, Nr. 87; mon *Cat. ostr. hiérat. litt.*, Nrs. 1052, 1054, 1094; Gardiner, *Ram. Adm. Doc.*, 49, 18; Ounamon, 1, 1.

¹⁷ Voir sur cette limitation *JEA* 35, 78.

¹⁸ Griffith, *Kah. Pap., Text*, 26.

¹⁹ Sur cette lecture, contestée par Edel, *JNES* 8, 35-39, voir maintenant Gardiner, op. cit. 165-71.

²⁰ Par ex. P. Leide 347, 13, 1; Golénischeff, *Pap. Hiérat. (CCG)*, No. 58027, 4B, 3, où *rnpt* est rouge dans les

ne considèrent pas cette dernière comme une notion sacrée.¹ Dès lors il serait, semble-t-il, préférable d'envisager un motif pratique, par exemple le désir de dissocier à l'aide de la bichromie les composants de la date.²

Comme on a pu voir, les règles d'emploi du rouge sont assez simples. Cependant leur mise en pratique se heurte constamment à une difficulté qui est la succession immédiate de mots ou de passages à rubriquer. Elle annule pour le deuxième élément l'effet du contraste que sa couleur était destinée à obtenir, elle peut créer la confusion, quand, par exemple, il s'agit de la fin d'un paragraphe et du titre du suivant.³ Les solutions adoptées dans les bons manuscrits montrent que la loi du contraste prime les règles des couleurs, que la recherche de l'opposition qui les a suscitées peut les inverser et qu'au lieu de parler de rouge, il faudrait souvent dire: 'encre différente de celle qui précède'. Le cas typique et simple est celui des corrections dans les papyrus Smith et Ebers, rouges dans les parties noires, mais noires dans les parties rouges.⁴ Au Moyen Empire, quand les céréales *swt* et *bdt* se suivent, la deuxième ne sera pas rubriquée, pour trancher sur la première;⁵ le total sera noir dans une colonne rouge,⁶ le surnom en face d'un nom rubriqué.⁷ Entre deux rubriques, la marque de division — sera noire⁸ et, dans les manuscrits qui ne s'en servent pas, après une rubrique finale, le nouveau paragraphe portera un titre noir.⁹ Le dernier exemple met en lumière l'inconvénient du procédé qui est de supprimer l'opposition des couleurs entre ce titre et le texte qui suit. En appliquant le système d'une manière rigoureuse, il aurait fallu changer d'encre, sans se préoccuper de sa couleur, chaque fois qu'on désirait réaliser une coupure. Mais cette façon de faire aurait été gênante aussi, car les éléments identiques du texte auraient constamment varié de teinte.¹⁰ Les scribes ont donc cherché à concilier couleur 'réglementaire' et contraste: la deuxième rubrique débutant en noir finit en rouge;¹¹ dans d'autres cas, c'est la première rubrique qui est achevée en rubriques. Chiffre et mot rouges au milieu du texte noir: P. d'Orbiney, 8, 5; 13, 5. Chiffre seul rouge: Horus et Seth, 13, 12.

¹ *Giornale della Necropoli*, pl. 4, *ssw* 5 *hryw rnpt* est rouge, mais *rnpt* a été repassé à l'encre noire. Il se pourrait que le scribe l'ait fait sous l'influence de l'année noire dans les dates. La disposition *rnpt* 5 *hryw* pourrait d'ailleurs s'expliquer par une analogie avec la façon d'exprimer les dates qui commencent par l'année.

² Comparer le Calendrier Ebers où  est rouge sans doute parce qu'elle constitue toute la date. — La date commence souvent les alinéas et, dans les en-têtes, elle est précédée d'une rubrique. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, l'année écrite en noir se trouve bien isolée. On notera encore que, dans les journaux où les dates sont rapprochées, l'année est l'élément qui mérite le moins la rubrique. Il est d'ailleurs souvent omis. Cet ensemble de faits pourrait fort bien expliquer l'origine de l'usage qui se serait généralisé avec le temps.

³ Par ex. Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 6, 23; P. Ebers, 2, 1; 27, 5; 30, 18; P. Smith, 18-20; P. méd. Londres, 11, 2, 3, 8.

⁴ Cf. aussi P. Beatty IV, vs. 5, 3. Dans le même ordre d'idées, un texte rouge peut recevoir une ponctuation noire, mon *Cat. ostr. hiérat. litt.*, No. 1039, rt.

⁵ Ex. No. 2 de Gunn, *JEA* 27, 157: *swt* noir après *bdt* rouge; ex. No. 5: *bdt* noir après *swt* rouge.

⁶ Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 16, 20, 31; 21, 5, 10; P. Boulaq XVIII, 25, 2, 7, 20.

⁷ Griffith, *Kah. Pap.* 10, 4.

⁸ Par ex. P. Beatty VII, rt. 3, 7; 6, 7; 7, 3; P. Leide 348, vs. 6, 4 (contrôlé sur l'original par M. B. H. Stricker).

⁹ Par ex. P. Smith, 5, 5; 6, 7; 8, 6; P. Hearst, 2, 5; 4, 5; P. méd. Londres, 1, 2; 15, 2; P. méd. Berlin, 14, 9.

¹⁰ Cf. P. méd. Londres, 3, où les titres sont tantôt rouges, tantôt noirs et le texte qui les accompagne tantôt noir, tantôt rouge.

¹¹ Par ex. CT II, 67, où — noir aurait suffi; P. Ebers, 22, 5; 23, 19; 43, 2; P. Leide 343, 4, 9; 6, 2; LM, Nu, *passim*.

noir, ce qui permet d'écrire la suivante entièrement en rouge.¹ Aucune des deux solutions n'était entièrement satisfaisante, car il en résultait des titres et des formules coupées en deux par le changement de couleur. Mais le sectionnement sans objet était un fait admis, on en avait l'habitude avec les incipit où le rouge n'allait pas jusqu'au bout d'une proposition,² avec les titres à moitié rubriqués.³ Le lecteur savait que certains contrastes d'encre étaient une nécessité technique et ne voulaient rien dire; il savait les distinguer de ceux qui avaient une signification.

Il ne faut pas exagérer les faiblesses qu'on peut relever dans l'utilisation de l'encre rouge, ni les difficultés que suscite son emploi. Elles sont peu de chose en face des avantages considérables qu'offrait la bichromie. L'antiquité classique a su les reconnaître et fit un usage, limité, il est vrai, du procédé qui a survécu ainsi jusqu'à nos jours et a marqué le vocabulaire moderne.⁴ Lorsque nous parlons des rubriques de nos journaux, nous rendons, à notre insu, hommage à l'esprit inventif et pratique des scribes égyptiens.

¹ Par ex. *hmwt-rj* avec *hmwt* rouge et *rj* noir devant une rubrique, P. Ebers, 2, 1; 58, 13-14; 60, 21-22. Dans le LM, les titres des chapitres sont souvent terminés en noir devant *qd mdtw in* rouge, sans que l'on puisse le justifier par un motif superstitieux.

² Par ex. P. Ermitage 1115, 1. 47. 67; P. Ebers, 37, 10; 39, 2-3; 42, 8-9; P. Sall. II, 1, 4. 5; 2, 3. 10; P. Harris I rubrique le premier mot des paragraphes. Dans les récits néo-égyptiens, l'usage est de rubriquer *wn-in*, *hr-n*, *qd-in*; le sujet qui suit est traité différemment, selon qu'il est nominal ou pronominal. Le substantif, avec ou sans l'article ou l'adjectif possessif, s'écrit en noir. Le suffixe, ainsi que le pronom indéfini *tw*, font corps avec le thème verbal et sont rouges comme lui.

³ Par ex. P. Smith, 2, 2; 13, 3; 15, 20; P. Leide 346, 1, 1; 3, 4; P. Beatty V, vs. 6, 5.

⁴ Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 20.

THE CULT OF *ḥryw* AT THEBES IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD¹

By MUSTAFA EL-AMIR

It is worthy of remark that demotic papyri of the Ptolemaic period from Thebes frequently refer to tombs in the necropolis at Dirā' Abu'n-Naga as belonging to persons whose only title is *ḥry*, and the present paper is an attempt to assess the role of these *ḥryw* in the life of the people of Thebes. The starting-point of this discussion is the group of demotic papyri discovered by Dr. Fisher in 1922 and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia. They were found in a house, apparently of the Ptolemaic period, which was built against the pylon of the Dyn. XIX tomb No. 156, and will be familiar to many from the plates published by the late Dr. Reich in *Mizraim*. Unfortunately, when he died he had completed the publication of not more than three (and the translation of three others) of these papyri. These documents have been shown by Professor Glanville to be related to several others scattered among a number of collections in Europe, and with them should throw much light on sociological and legal aspects of Theban life under the Ptolemies. A good deal of information can also be gleaned from these papyri about the topography of Thebes on both sides of the river, and it is in studying this particular aspect that my attention has been drawn to the subject of the present paper.

In these texts we commonly meet with references to dead persons of both sexes described as *p ḥry* (fem. *t ḥryt*) or *p ḥsy* (fem. *t ḥsy*). They are mentioned in contracts dealing with sales, or leases, or deeds of gift, of burial-places, mummies, or the dues and stipends connected with the service of the dead which are conveniently but perhaps misleadingly termed 'liturgies' by demotists and papyrologists. There are three words which undoubtedly refer to burial-places, but it hardly seems possible to define *ḥt*, *st*, and *mꜣ* more closely. Possibly *ḥt* indicates a tomb of classical Egyptian type; *st* may be the chapel only, since the *st* is sometimes mentioned with the *šḫḫ* (i.e. shaft) as a complete burial-place; *mꜣ*, referring to burial, appears to be a specialized use of the common word for place. It would be tempting to look for a distinction between these three demotic terms roughly corresponding with the three Arabic terms for the burial-place of a Muslim *Shēkh* مقام — ضريح — مقبرة which mean tomb, tomb-shrine, and vaulted-tomb respectively; but there is no evidence to enable us to support the parallel.

Here let me give some examples of the use of *ḥry* and *ḥsy* before attempting to

¹ A paper read before the 21st International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in July 1948. I desire here to express my gratitude and great obligation to my teacher, Professor S. R. K. Glanville, at whose suggestion and through whose kind help this paper has been brought to its present condition. A more complete study, with references, is to be included in my thesis 'Legal and Sociological Aspects of the Demotic Archive at Philadelphia and the related Papyri', shortly to be submitted to the University of Cambridge for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

translate the terms. I refer to the documents by the Roman enumeration given to them by Reich in *Mizraim*, vol. 9.

A. Doc. V—a deed of gift confirmed by the wife in Doc. VI.

In the 4th year of Ptolemy I Sotēr (302 B.C.) a pastophoros of Amenopi in the west of Thebes gave to his son-in-law, a Kalasiris of the temple of Amūn, a burial-place (*st*) in the Necropolis of Djeme together with its shaft with permission to inter such of his people (*rmw*) as he wished. He gave him also the *htpw*, which were derived, in some way not quite clear, from a part of the aforesaid burial-place, and which are said to belong to (I am here quoting) 'Our *hry Pa-rt*, thy God'. Note that though a single person is speaking in the document, he uses the 1st pers. pl. poss. pron. in reference to *hry* and the 2nd pers. sing. poss. pron. before *ntr*, which is in apposition to *hry*.

The boundaries of this burial-place are as usual defined to the south, north, east, and west. To the south there is said to be a path leading to 'Mn-*htp* (presumably to the tomb of Amenophis I or to his mortuary chapel). On the other three sides are burial-places respectively of three different *hryw*, '*P-a-te-Hr-p-Rc*, the god of the sailors', Pana and Patef. Each *hry* is described as *pe-n* = our.

B. Doc. XVI.

In the 34th year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (251 B.C.), a woman sold to her son, a pastophoros of Amenopi in the west of Thebes, her share in a house on the east bank of Thebes together with her share of certain tombs on the west bank plus her share of *ne hryw* = 'my *hryw*' who are interred in them; and the share of her *hsyw*, with their emoluments, which are specified as everything that is received from them now and which shall accrue to them in the future, whether from the land, the temple or the town.

C. Doc. XVIII.

In the 6th year of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (241 B.C.), a pastophoros made over to his sister the following tombs and mummies:

'The *hry Hr-p-Rc*, the *hsy*, his people and the tomb in which his people are interred'; 'The tomb of *P-a-te-Hr-p-Rc*, the engraver and his people'; 'The *hryt Tyta*, the *hsyt* and her people'; 'The tomb of *Ns-ne-w-hmn'w p nb*'; 'The *hsy* who belongs to me who is called *Wh-b-Rc Hwsy?*'; 'The tomb of *Gmrws p nb* and his people'; '*Šp-Mn* son of Pato'; 'And every person belonging to the *hry Hr-p-Rc*'.

The title *p nb*, lit. 'the gold', I am unable to explain unless it is a variant of *p hry*. It is possible that the last phrase ('and every person belonging to the *hry Hr-p-Rc*') is a summary of all the preceding names.

D. To these three typical examples I add a reference from Doc. XXVI of the 5th year of Ptolemy IV Philopator (217 B.C.) where mention is made, in a sale of two burial-grounds with their emoluments and chattels, of boundaries which include the '*mc* of the *hry Pylwn* and the *hry Pa-te-Wsr*', and 'the Cats' (i.e. the cemetery of the cats).

The use of *hsy* meaning a drowned person, or one who had attained a semi-holy status through drowning, was first discussed by Griffith in his note on Herodotus II,

90 in *ZÄS* 46, 132, and subsequently by Miss Murray, Dr. Kees, and Dr. Alan Rowe. Griffith suggested that it might be regarded as an equivalent of the Arabic *ولى* but actually used the word 'drowned' as a translation, on the strength of the Coptic *ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲉ*. But drowning is only the mode of death, and the point to be stressed is the condition of sanctity thus obtained by the dead person.

It is suggestive to consider here two Arabic sayings:

من مات حريق مات شهيد ومن مات غريق مات شهيد

i.e. 'He who dies by fire is a martyr and he who dies by drowning is a martyr'. In these sentences, *شهيد* seems to have much the sense of *ḥsy*, which might therefore be translated in English by 'martyr'.

Griffith also showed that a man or woman described as *ḥsy* was also frequently called a *ḥry*, which he translated 'Master' (or 'Mistress'), and concluded that the title *ḥry* was acquired by a man or woman by virtue of being a *ḥsy*.

In the light of the much greater volume of evidence now available it appears that *ḥry* is the commoner title (in the proportion of 5:1) and must therefore have had a significance of its own, apart from its association with *ḥsy*. Griffith's equation therefore of *ḥry* with *شيخ* which has the same meaning in Arabic as *ولى* and is frequently found in apposition to the latter, is perhaps not quite exact. A better equivalent is *سيد*. The distinction between *شيخ* and *سيد* is as follows; *شيخ* is applied to the chief of a tribe who attains full maturity not only in age but in mental powers and is therefore credited with wisdom in his lifetime. But he becomes *السيد* on receiving some degree of veneration after he is dead. *السيد* connotes the idea of patronship, protection, and sanctity.

The defining word before *سيد* is important for us, since its Arabic use corresponds very well with the demotic. From the texts quoted it has been shown that *ḥry* is always preceded either by *p* = 'the', *pe·n* = 'our' or *ne* = 'my'. Similarly in Arabic *السيد البدوي* the patron saint of Tanta, *سيدنا الحسين* in Cairo and *سیدی ابو الحجاج* at Luxor. If then *السيد* is the nearest equivalent to *p ḥry*, the latter might best be rendered in English as 'patron saint' or 'Saint' (in the more parochial sense of the word). For the sake of convenience and in the hope of provoking discussion I shall therefore speak of the *ḥryw* as Saints and of the *ḥsyw* as Martyrs.

This is not the place to attempt a complete list of these Saints and Martyrs mentioned in the demotic documents. Certain figures are, however, of interest: in 18 documents from Thebes, 100 Saints are mentioned and 20 Martyrs. The proportion of men to women is 4:1 of the Saints and 9:1 of the Martyrs. All these documents come from Dirā' Abu'n-Naga. The other great series of interrelated documents from Thebes, those from Dēr el-Medīnah in Turin, do not refer at all to sales of burial-grounds or Saints or Martyrs.

It can, I think, be shown that the location of the burial-places of these Saints and Martyrs was at Dirā' Abu'n-Naga. That these burial-places were confined to a single district seems certain from the fact that the neighbours of an individual Saint's burial-place are almost invariably stated in the papyri to be the burial-places of other Saints; and as we have seen the papyri themselves come from Dirā' Abu'n-Naga. Further, in

document XIX we have a reference to a 'burial-place of the Ibis' and in document V to the 'path leading to Amenophis'. Several burial-places of the Ibis have been identified, all at Dirā' Abu'n-Naga; the largest was discovered by Lord Northampton during the winter of 1898-9 and is discussed by Spiegelberg in the publication of the excavation. It has already been suggested that the 'path leading to Amenophis' must be the road leading to the tomb of Amenophis I discovered by Lord Carnarvon in 1914 on the plateau above the foot-hills of Dirā' Abu'n-Naga or to his mortuary chapel discovered by Spiegelberg in 1896 on the borders of the Theban plain below that place. It may well be that the tombs of these Saints and Martyrs were centred there in order to be close to the tomb or the mortuary chapel of Amenophis I, the patron Saint of the necropolis.

In these Saints and Martyrs we are therefore confronted with a local cult of two different, but closely related, types of persons. It is important to try to see how these cults arose.

The personal relation between the people and their god is undoubtedly the essence of any religion if it be regarded, in Professor Gunn's words, 'rather in its emotional than in its intellectual aspect'. To the ordinary Egyptian the great God of the state must have been too remote for that purpose and the King can rarely have been accessible. The man in the street needed someone nearer to him, before whom he could submit petitions and seek consolation. Mr. Gadd has recently pointed out that in the Ancient East 'there existed besides the public and licensed gods, a great many little private gods, unlicensed practitioners of divinity who work miracles and bless their people in holes and corners'.

The contrast between the royal worship of the Sun as a State theology and the cult of Osiris as a popular practice has been characterized by Breasted as a reflection of the 'struggle between the Solar and Osirian faiths shown in the Pyramid Texts. A spiritual and intellectual conflict between State and popular religions'. Since Osiris himself is described, for obvious reasons, as *p hsy n hsyw* (the Martyr of Martyrs), the *hsyw* might be regarded as representatives of the Osirian faith and the cult of Martyrs in our papyri of the Ptolemaic period as a continuation of that old struggle.

It is more difficult to suggest an explanation of the origin of the cult of *hryw*. It seems to me that it may be perhaps connected with a form of ancestor worship. We have Manetho's reference to the practice and his description of the objects of ancestor worship as *νέκρες ἡμιθέοι*, which would aptly describe the mummies of our Saints. It is noticeable too that the greater part of the names of these Saints from Dirā' Abu'n-Naga are local names and of types which we should normally not date earlier than Dyn. XXVI or late New Kingdom. Moreover, we frequently have references to the family of a Saint being buried with him. The large number of Saints in a comparatively small district would support this suggestion; as would the occasional exception in the form of a stranger, e.g. the Saint Hor, the man of Koptos.

In conclusion it is worth noting that the cult of Saints and Martyrs must have received additional strength under the oppression of the Roman Empire, since we owe the foundation of the temple of Dendūr in Nubia to the apotheosis of the two brothers

Peteisi and Piḥor, the sons of *Kwpr*. The first is a Martyr only, the second is a Saint and a Martyr, and described as the god of *Klt* (Kurtah). And we owe the foundation of Antinoopolis by Hadrian to the martyrdom by drowning of his young favourite Antinous.

AN EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION FROM MEMPHIS¹

By MARCUS N. TOD

IN 1928 the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum acquired an inscription from Egypt, a short account of which appeared over the initials 'R. H.' in the *British Museum Quarterly*, 3, 46 f. I have to thank the Trustees for their kindness in allowing me to publish more fully this interesting document and in supplying me with the photograph reproduced in pl. VIII.

According to the Register of Accessions the stone was bought in Cairo and its provenance was said to be Sakḥārah. A note initialed 'E. A. W. B.' (i.e. E. A. Wallis Budge, at that time Keeper of the Egyptian Department) states that 'the slab was found in the ruins of the temple of Ptah of Memphis'. The stone, an unadorned rectangular stela of white marble with grey streaks, 1.17 m. in height, 0.91 in breadth, and 0.065 in thickness, has been broken into seven pieces, but these join so exactly that not a single letter has been wholly lost; below the last line of the inscription is a blank space 0.09 m. high.

The layout of the inscription has been carefully planned, so that, after the short dedicatory formula of l. 1, not very exactly centred, and the heading, which extends over the whole breadth of the stone in ll. 2-4, the list of names occupies two columns,

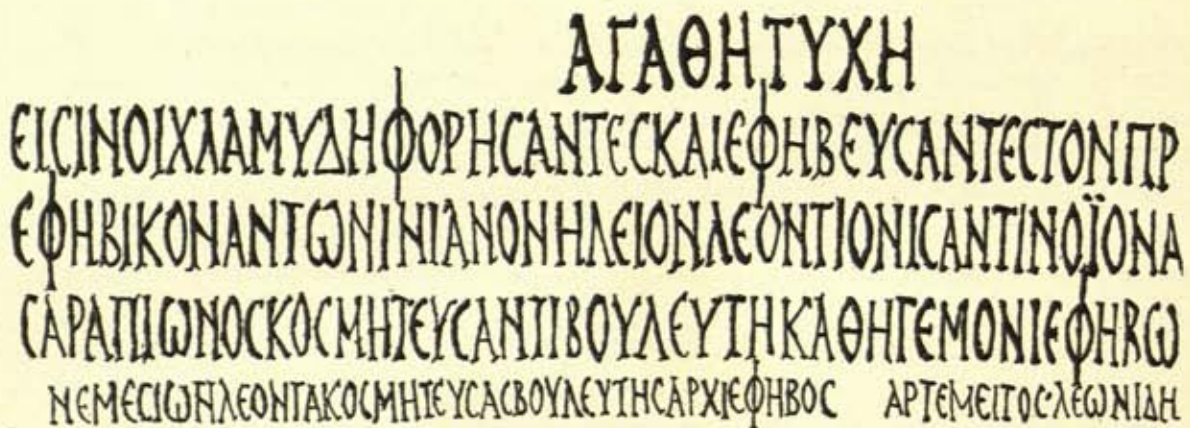
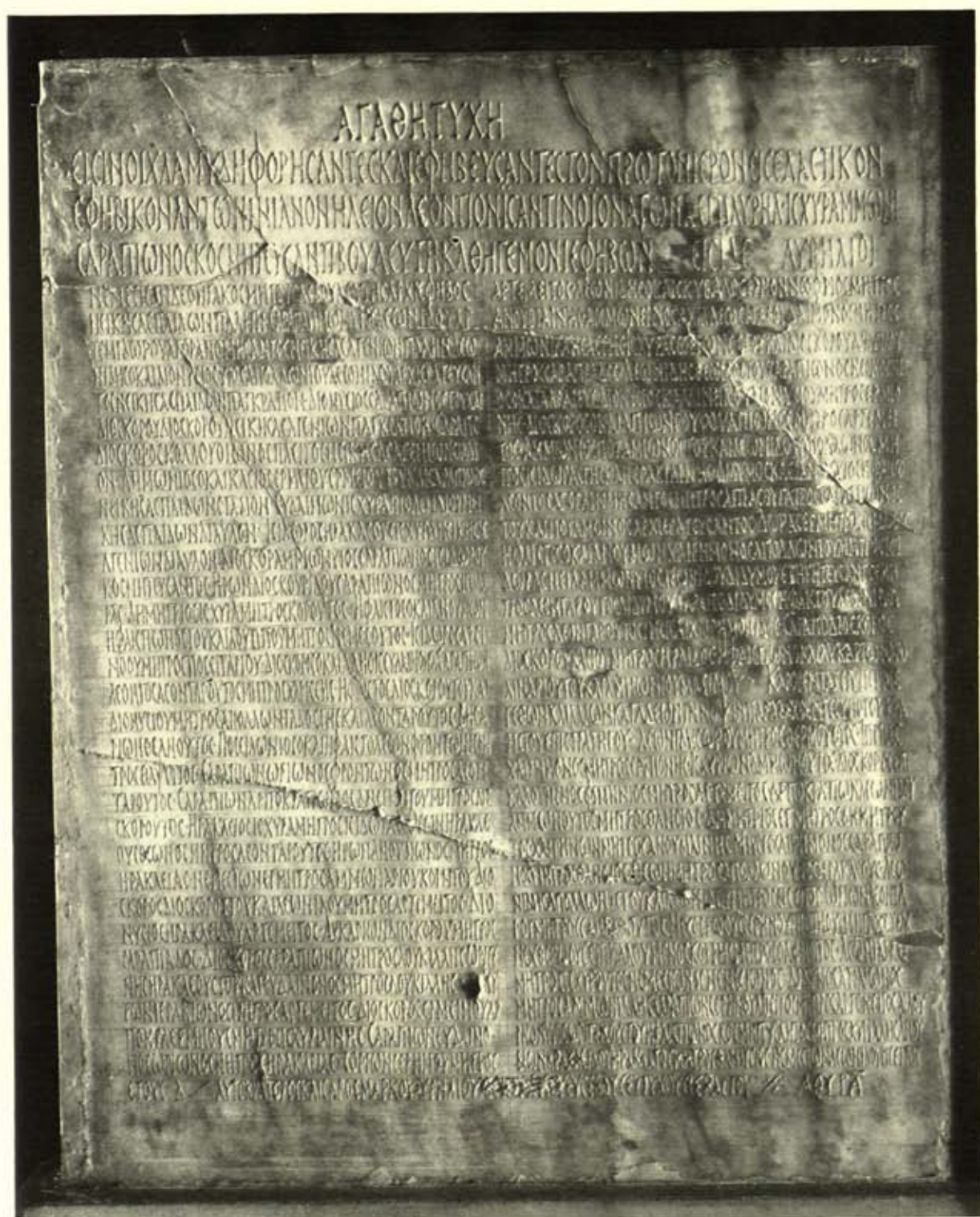


FIG. 1.

each of thirty lines, while at the foot l. 65, which also runs right across the stone, dates the document by the regnal year of a Roman Emperor and the day of an Egyptian

¹ In the present article I use the following abbreviations in addition to those which are customary: LS = Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*; IGR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*; PW = F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*; Hohlwein = N. Hohlwein, *L'Égypte romaine: recueil des termes techniques*; Jouguet = P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*. My cordial thanks are due to Sir Harold Bell and Mr. Colin H. Roberts, who have read the manuscript of the article and made a number of valuable suggestions from the standpoint of papyrology, as well as to Professor B. Ashmole, who has supplied information about the stone and has sent me the photograph and the squeeze here reproduced.



AN EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION FROM MEMPHIS

month. This shows a skilful disposal of the material, for whereas ll. 2-4 average 65 letters, the length of the following lines, with their much smaller and more crowded letters, would have been highly inconvenient for the reader but for the columnar arrangement. This secures lines of about 50-55 letters, save in the last three lines (ll. 62-64), where, owing to a faulty calculation, the engraver has had to squeeze into each line 59-63 letters. To aid him in his task he has ruled three vertical lines from top to bottom of the slab; one of these marks the centre of the stone and of the text, while that on the left forms the limit to which the lines of the first column might extend (though a few of them slightly transgress it) and that on the right indicates where the lines of the second column must begin, thus securing an appreciable blank space between the columns. He has also ruled a series of horizontal guide-lines to serve in maintaining uniformity in the height of the letters and in the interlinear spaces.

The letter-forms (illustrated in fig. 1) show a strong cursive influence, characteristic of the period to which the inscription belongs. They are very narrow, and tall in proportion to their breadth: the free ends of straight strokes are somewhat thickened, as with a kind of rudimentary serif. Tallest and clumsiest of all is Φ , the vertical stroke of which extends across the interline both above and below; the horizontal bars of Γ and T are so short that these letters are sometimes hardly distinguishable from I ; the 'lunar' forms of $\epsilon\varsigma\omega$ are used throughout, and the first two of these are excessively narrow. An interesting phenomenon is the use of a sign of punctuation (like our decimal point in form) to mark the close of each entry in the ephebe-list, and of a capital letter, noticeably taller than its fellows, at the beginning of the name which starts the following entry; occasionally, however, the engraver neglects one or both of these devices. Otherwise punctuation is restricted to three examples of the dot in ll. 3, 4, the sign $>$, which, followed by a blank space and a capital letter, marks the important break in l. 50, a slanting stroke $/$, following the Δ of l. 65, and two parallel strokes $//$, adorned with dots between them and on both sides, preceding Ἀθὺρ Ἀ at the end of that line. A diaeresis is placed over the third ι of ἰσαντινόιον (l. 3). Abbreviation does not occur except in the Ἀὐρηλ(ίω) of l. 3. The syllabic division of words is carefully observed, and the normal rule is followed even when it conflicts with etymological considerations, as in Διο|σκοροῦτος (ll. 24-25), Διό|σκορος (ll. 27-28).

The text, if I have read it aright, runs as follows: the Greek colon represents the similar punctuation engraved on the stone.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Εἰσὶν οἱ χλαμυδηφορήσαντες καὶ ἐφηβεύσαντες τὸν πρῶτον ἱερὸν εἰσελαστικὸν ἐφηβικὸν Ἀντωνινιανὸν Ἡλείων Λεόντιον ἰσαντινόιον ἀγῶνα· ἐπὶ Αὐρηλ· Ἰσχυράμμωνι Σαραπίωνος· κοσμητεύσαντι βουλευτῇ καθηγεμόνι ἐφῆβων, εἰσὶ δὲ Αὐρήλιοι.

Left Side

- 5 *Νεμεσίων Λεοντᾶ κοσμητεύσας βουλευτῆς ἀρχιέφηβος
νεικήσας παίδων πάλην· Σαραπάμμων υἱὸς Λεωνίδου Ἀρ-
τεμιδώρου ἀγορανομήσαντος νεικήσας ἀγενίων πάλην· Λεω-*

- νίδης ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου Λεωνίδου ἀρχιερατεύσαν-
 τος νεικήσας παίδων παγκράτιον· Διονύσιος Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ
 10 Διοσκόρου Διοσκόρου νεικήσας ἀγενίων παγκράτιον· Σαραπο-
 διόσκορος Κολλουθίωνος Πάειτος νεικήσας ἀγενίων στάδι-
 ον· Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Κάσιος Ἑρμείου Ἑρμείου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος
 νεικήσας παίδων στάδιον· Εὐδαίμων Ἰσχυρᾷ Πτολεμαίου νει-
 κήσας παίδων δίαυλον· Ἰσιδῶρος Ἡρακλέους Ἰσχυρᾷ νεικήσας
 15 ἀγενίων δίαυλον· Διοσκοράμμων υἱὸς Σαραπίωνος Ἰσιδώρου
 κοσμητεύσαντος· Ἡρων Διοσκουρίδου Σαραπίωνος μητρός Ἰσιδώ-
 ρας· Δημήτριος Ἰσχυρᾷ μητρός Κοροῦτος· Ἡφαιστος ὁ καὶ Ἀνουβίων
 Ἡφαιστίωνος τοῦ καὶ Λούππου μητρός Νεμεσοῦτος· Ἰσιδῶρος Ἀρσι-
 νόου μητρός Ποσειταρίου· Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀληθις Εὐδαίμονος, Σαραπίων
 20 Λέοντος Λεονταροῦτος μητρός Χαρίσσης· Ἡφαιστος Διοσκόρου τοῦ καὶ
 Διονυσίου μητρός Ἀπολλωνιάδος τῆς καὶ Λεονταροῦτος· Βησα-
 ρίων Θεανοῦτος· Ποσειδώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἡφαιστολέων Φρόντωνος μη-
 τρός Θαψόϊτος· Σαραπίων Ὠρίωνος Φρόντωνος μητρός Λεον-
 ταροῦτος· Σαραπίων Ἀρποκρατίωνος Ἀνεικήτου μητρός Διο-
 25 σκοροῦτος· Ἡράκλειος Ἰσχυρᾷ μητρός Ἰσιδώρας· Θέων Ἡρακλέ-
 ος Θέωνος μητρός Λεονταροῦτος· Ἡρων Ἀνουβίωνος μητρός
 Ἡρακλείας· Νεμεσίων ἐγ μητρός Ἀμμωναρίου Κοῦντου, Διό-
 σκορος Διοσκόρου τοῦ καὶ Λεωνίδου μητρός Ἀρτέμειτος· Διο-
 νύσιος Ἡρακλείδου Ἀρτέμειτος· Λυκαρίων Διοσκόρου μητρός
 30 Σαραπιάδος· Διόσκορος Σαραπίωνος μητρός Λουκίλλης· Ὠριγέ-
 νης Ἡρακλέους τοῦ καὶ Εὐδαίμονος μητρός Λουκίλλης· Κύ-
 ρων Ἱερακίωνος μητρός Ἀρτέμειτος· Διόσκορος Ἑρμείνου Ἀρ-
 ποκρᾷ Ἑρμήους μητρός Ἰσχυριαίνης· Σαραπίων Εὐδαίμο-
 νος Ὠρίωνος μητρός Ἡρακλείας· Ὠρίων Σερήνου μητρός

Right Side

- 35 Ἀρτέμειτος· Λεωνίδης ὁ καὶ Σκύβαλος Ἑρμοννώφριος μητρός
 Ἀνουβιαίνης· Ἀμμωνεῖνος Ἀχιλλέως Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος μητρός
 Ἀμμωνίλλης ἀστῆς· Ἰσχυρᾷς Ὠρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου Διδύμου
 μητρός Σαραπιάδος· Λεωνίδης Θέωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος Νεοκόσμι-
 ος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς· Διονύσιος Καλλινείκου Διονυσίου μητρός Ἑρμιό-
 40 νης· Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων Ῥούφου Ἀπίωνος μητρός Ἀρτέμει-
 τος· Ἀμμώνιος Ποταμίωνος τοῦ καὶ Λεωνίδου Ἀπόλλωνος μη-
 τρός Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἱερακιαίνης· Δίδυμος Κασσιανοῦ υἱὸς Ἡφαιστο-
 λέοντος ἀγορανομήσαντος μητρός Ἀπίας θυγατρὸς Σαραπίωνος
 τοῦ καὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀρχιερατεύσαντος· Δωρᾷς ἐγ μητρός Ἰσιδώρας·
 45 Ἡφαιστος ὁ καὶ Ἀνουβίων Χαιρήμονος Ἀπολλωνίου μητρός Ἰσι-
 δώρας· Νειλάμμων υἱὸς Λεωνίδου Διδύμου ἐξηγητεύσαντος μη-
 τρός Λεονταροῦτος Διδύμου· Σαραποδίδυμος Ἡφαίστου Λεωνίδου
 μητρός Λεονταροῦτος τῆς καὶ Χαιρημονίδος· Σαραποδιόσκορος

- Διοσκόρου Κασίου μητρὸς Ἑραΐδος· Ἑφαιστίων ὁ καὶ Λυκαρίων Ἀπο-
 50 λυναρίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου Μαξίμου > Καὶ οἱ ἐν τάξει ὑπερμε-
 γεθῶν καὶ ἄλλων καταδεῶν τὴν ὄψιν παραδεχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κρα-
 τίστου ἐπιστρατήγου· Λεωνίδης Ὡρου μητρὸς Θερμοῦθιος· Ἰππίας
 Χαιρήμονος μητρὸς Ἑρμιόνης· Ἰσχυρίων Ἀμμωνοῦτος· Διόσκορος ἐπι-
 καλούμενος Φιμήνιος μητρὸς Ἀρτέμειτος· Ἀρποκρατίων Λεωνίδου
 55 Ἀμμωνοῦτος μητρὸς Θαήσιος· Δημήτριος ἐγ μητρὸς Δημητροῦ-
 τος· Χαιρήμων μητρὸς Ἀνουβιαίνης, Μίκις Χαιρήμονος Σαραπίω-
 νος μητρὸς Θαήσιος· Θέων μητρὸς Ἀπολλωνοῦτος· Ἡρακλέους· Λεω-
 νίδης Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ καὶ Λεωνίδου μητρὸς Εἵσειτος· Ὡρίων Λεοντά-
 ρου μητρὸς Σαμβαθοῦτος· Νεχθερώους Σερήνου Πιεσιήους μητρὸς Σύρας,
 60 Νεχθερώους ἐπικαλούμενος Κόρρης μητρὸς Θαφμόϊτος· Λεωνίδης ἐγ
 μητρὸς Ἰσχυροῦτος Νεμεσίωνος Νεμεσίωνος Δίδυμος Ἀτιλίωνος
 μητρὸς Ἀμμωνίλλης· Σαραπίων Σερήνου Ἀπειτος μητρὸς Ἀρτέμειτος· Αἰλου-
 ρίων υἱὸς Ὡριγένους τοῦ Ἑφαιστίωνος κοσμητεύσαντος μητρὸς Κυρίλλης· Ἀνου-
 βίων Ἡρακλείδου Ἡρακλᾶτος μητρὸς Θαηύσιος· Νεμεσίων Λεωνίδου Εἵσειτος.
 65 Ἔτους δ' / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου [Ἀντωνεῖνο]υ εὐσεβοῦς
 εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ // Ἀθῦρ α'.

The document falls into three clearly marked sections, the heading (ll. 1-4), the ephebe-list (ll. 5-64), and the date (l. 65); each of these calls for some comments.

I. The Heading (ll. 1-4)

L. 1. That we should write *Ἀγαθὴ τύχη* rather than *Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* is suggested¹ by the addition of the *iota mutum* to one or both of these words in a number of inscriptions from Egypt dating from the Roman period, e.g. *IGR* I, 1112, 1131-3, 1136, 1143, 1156, 1264.

L. 2. For the introduction of a name-list by *εἰσὶν* cf. *IG* VII, 1243, 28 (Acraephia) *εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι*, 2808 a 31 (Hyettus) *εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ γερο[υσια]σταὶ οἷδε*, *REG* XLVI, 442, n. 1 (Samos) *εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ στρατευσάμενοι*, etc. Usually such lists are introduced by a phrase beginning with *οἷδε* (*εἰσὶν δὲ οὗτοι* in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, v, 87, is quite exceptional), e.g. *Inscr. Délos*, 2606, 1 *οἷδε ἐλατόμησαν*, 2597, 6 *οἷδε ἐνίκων*, 2590, 2 *οἷδε ἔλαβον τὸ κανοῦν* (this phrase is interpreted by L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 18 (1944), 21 ff.), 2594, 4 *οἷδε ἠφῆβενσαν* (the aorist and perfect of *ἐφῆβεν* are sometimes written *ἐφ-*, sometimes *ἠφ-*), *IG* XII (9), 240, 3 *οἷδ[ε] ἔφηβοι ἀνεγ[ράφησαν]*, E. Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler Bulgariens*, 114, 115 (Odessus) *οἷδε εἰσὶν ἔφηβοι*, etc., though sometimes *οἷδε* takes the second, or a later, place, e.g. *IG* VII, 1776 (Helicon) *ἐνείκων οἷδε*, IV², 97 (Epidaurus) *ιδιωται οἷδε εἰσήνεγκαν*, II², 43, 78 (Athens) *Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἷδε σύμμαχοι*, *Inscr. Cret. I*, XVI, 29, 30, 31 (Lato), XIX, 4 (Malla) *ἐκόσμιον (δὲ) οἷδε*, etc. What is unusual in the present inscription is the total omission of *οἷδε* and the repeated *εἰσὶ δέ* of l. 4 (cf. *εἰσὶ δέ* in l. 12 of a Karanis papyrus, *Mém. Inst. Français d'Arch.*

¹ Yet the frequency with which an *iota mutum* is wrongly inserted in inscriptions and papyri of the Roman period renders the inference uncertain. For the formula in general see W. Larfeld, *Gr. Epigr.*³ 306 f., *PW* 1, 3.

Orient. LXVII, 127, and εἰσὶν δὲ οἷδε in a Dura name-list, *CRAc. Inscr.* 1937, 201 = *RA* 10 (1937), 353, No. 74).¹

The verb χλαμυδηφορέω (not in LS) apparently occurs here for the first time, though the corresponding adjective is found in Theocritus, xv, 6 παντᾶ κρηπίδες, παντᾶ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες (where its meaning has been fully discussed by A. S. F. Gow, *JHS* 58, 190 ff.), and in a Pergamene epigram of the second century A.D., *IGR* IV, 360, 25 ὅσσοι ὑπὸ ζαθέην τύρσιν χλαμυδηφόροι εἰσίν. The variant form χλαμυδοφορέω is found in Pollux, VII, 46 ἐντεθετταλίσμεθα ἔλεγον τὸ χλαμυδοφοροῦμεν, and in Hesychius, s.v. ἐντεθετταλίσθαι (cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Θεσσαλία), and it has recently come to light in a Michigan papyrus (2929+2997 recto) of A.D. 199–200, which contains the phrase συνεχωρήθην χλαμ[υ]δοφ[ορεῖ]ν, the significance of which is examined by the editor, O. W. Pearl, who suggests that the word may mean ‘to wear an official’s cloak’, or ‘to wear the chlamys into court as a litigant’ (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 71, 383 ff.). The wearing of the χλαμύς is closely and constantly, though not exclusively, connected with ephebic or cavalry service: thus Pollux (x, 164) says, quoting Philemon’s *Θυρωρός*, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα πέτασος καὶ χλαμύς, and the Pergamene epigram quoted above has ἡῖθεοι χλαμύδεσσι ἀμφεμμένοι ὀππόσοι ἐ[στέ] (l. 35; cf. LS s.vv. χλαμύδιον, χλαμύς). For the nature of this mantle and of the somewhat similar χλαῖνα and χλανίς see Amelung’s articles in *RE* III, 2335 ff. The chlamys was of various colours (Pollux, VII, 46; cf. *SIG* 1018 φορεῖτω [χ]λαμύδα λευκήν), but the Attic ephebes wore a black mantle until Herodes Atticus μετεκόσμησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐφήβους ἐς τὸ νῦν σχῆμα, χλαμύδας πρῶτος ἀμφιέσας λευκάς· τέως γὰρ δὴ μελαίνας ἐνημμένοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας περιεκάθηντο καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπεμπον (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 8). The occasion is vividly described in the heading of the ephebe-list of A.D. 165–6, Ἐπὶ νίκη τῶν θειοτάτων Αὐτοκράτορων Μ. Αὐρηλίου καὶ Λ. Βήρου | Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν Παρθικῶν μεγίστων, the κοσμητὴς of the ephebes ἀνέγραψεν το[ύς] ὑπ’ αὐτῷ ἐφηβεύσαντας, τοὺς] |⁶ πρώτους λευκοφορήσαντας διὰ τ[ῆς] λαμπροτάτης εὐεργεσίας | τοῦ κρατίστου ἀρχιερέως Τιβ. Κλ. Ἡρώδου Μαραθωνίου. Ἡρώτῃ|σεν ὁ πρόεδρος, ὅτω δοκεῖ λευκο[φορῆσαι] τοὺς ἐφήβους τῆς | ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ πρὸς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα ἡ σ[τρατιὰ] πορεύεται, ὅτω δὲ |¹⁰ μῆ. Οὐδείς ἐπῆρεν. Ἡρώδης εἶπεν· ὦ [ἐφηβοί, ἐμοῦ παρόντος χλαμύ|δων λευκῶν οὐκ ἀπορήσετε (*IG* II², 2090, 2 ff.), and a further reference to it is found in a poem (*IG* II², 3606, 19 ff.) describing Herodes’ triumphant return to Athens, about A.D. 175, after a brief period of retirement,

παῖδας Ἀθηναίων χαλκῷ γανάοντας ἐφήβους,
τοὺς αὐτός, λήθην πατρὸς ἀκειόμενος
Αἰγείδew, λώβης δὲ <ν>οφοεῖμονος ἔσχεθε κούρο[υς]
ἀργυφέαις χλαίναις οἴκοθεν ἀμφιέσας,

where χλαίναις is used as equivalent to χλαμύσιν, though Pollux clearly distinguishes the two garments (VII, 46).²

¹ In papyri, on the other hand, as Bell informs me, εἰσι(ν) regularly occurs at the beginning of a list and the use of οἷδε is very rare.

² In *IG* II², 3765, 12 ff., dated A.D. 226–35, commemorating the son of a κοσμητὴς, we have ἀμφὶ δ’ ἐμῆς μοίρης πᾶς | ἐδάκρυσε λεώς (sc. ἐφήβων), | οὐνεκεν οὐκ ἔφθην || χλαῖναν περὶ αὐχένι θέσθα[ι] | κώμῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ | πανσάμενος βιότου.

The grammatical construction of τὸν πρῶτον . . . ἀγῶνα is doubtful, though the meaning is obvious. Has ἐφηβεύω here a transitive sense? or should we regard the phrase as an 'accusative of the duration of time'? or is it perhaps an example of the 'accusative of respect'?¹ The emphasis laid on the fact that this record relates to the first celebration of the new ἀγών is paralleled in other inscriptions, e.g. *Iv Magn.* 180, 9 ff. Παναθήναια τὰ πρῶτα δοθέντα εἰσελαστικά ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, *Delphes*, III (1), 547, 9 ff. Ὀλύμπεια τὰ ἐν || Ἀθήναις πρῶτως ἀχθέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, 551, 4 ff. [τὸν] || πρῶτως ἀχθέντα ἐν Περγάμῳ ἱερ[ὸν ἀγῶνα] | οἰκουμενικὸν εἰσελαστικόν, *IG* XIV, 766, 4 f. τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν || μεγάλων Καπετωλείων τὸν πρῶτως ἀχθέντα, 737, 7 f. τὰ πρῶτα διατεθέντα ὑπὸ [τοῦ] | κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσέβεια, *IGR* III, 1012, 12 (Laodicea Syriae) Πυθιάδι πρῶτη ἀχθείσῃ, *Sardis*, VII (1), 77, 13; *BGU* 1074, 16; *IG* II², 2094, 52 f.; *CIG* 5806; *Iv Ol* 237, 8; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, v, 46, etc.

The epithets ἱερός and εἰσελαστικός are very commonly applied to ἀγῶνες in Imperial times, and I need not here collect examples of their use. I confine myself, therefore, to calling attention to L. Roberts's treatment (*Études anatoliennes*, 119 ff.) of an inscription from Thyatira (*IGR* IV, 1251), dating from Elagabalus' reign, in which, citing a number of similar cases, he restores and interprets the phrase ἱερὸν [ἀγῶ]να εἰσελαστικὸν Αὐγούστ[ειον ἰσο]πύθιον εἰς ἅπασαν [τὴν οἰκουμένην], and to quoting from the same scholar's discussion of an ἀγών at Sidon the following sentences (*Rev. Num.* 39, 277 f.): 'On voit que ces documents, monnaies, inscription et papyrus, qui mentionnent le concours "sacré", ἱερός, de Sidon, datent de la période entre Elagabal et Gallien. . . Il me paraît donc que c'est sous Elagabal que la ville, quand elle fut élevée au rang de colonie, reçut aussi de l'empereur le privilège de transformer son concours principal en concours "sacré". L'autorisation impériale était nécessaire pour l'institution d'un concours "sacré".' At Memphis also, as we shall see (p. 99), the ἀγών dates from the reign of Elagabalus, but whether it was an entirely new creation or merely the development of an already existing contest we cannot say.

L. 3. Despite its long and impressive title, the ἀγών is very narrowly limited. It is confined to ephebes (ἐφηβικόν), who fall into the two classes of παῖδες (ll. 6, 9, 13, 14) and ἀγένειοι (written ἀγένιοι in ll. 7, 10, 11, 15), for each of which there are four events, πάλη (ll. 6, 7), παγκράτιον (ll. 9, 10), στάδιον (ll. 11, 13), and δίαυλος (ll. 14, 15).

Ἀντωνινιανός, derived from Ἀντωνεῖνος, Elagabalus' name which has been erased in l. 65, recurs at Tarsus in a mutilated inscription Σ(ε)ουηρείου [Ἀ]ντωνει|νιανοῦ [- - - οἰ]κουμενικοῦ ἀγῶνος (*IGR* III, 881), and in a list of victories won by a boxer of Syrian Laodicea, ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ πατρίδι μου, Πυθιάδι πρῶτη ἀχθείσῃ, | οἰκουμενικὸν Ἀντωνινιανὸν ἀνδρῶν πυγμὴν (*IGR* III, 1012, 12 f.). At Prusias ad Hypium (*ibid.* 61, 4; 1422, 11) and at Oenoanda (*ibid.* 499, 4) the epithet takes the form Ἀντων(ε)ίνιος.

The next epithet, ΗΛΕΙΟΝ, is puzzling. In the *British Museum Quarterly*, 3, 46, it is written ἡλειον, brought into close association with εἰσελαστικόν and rendered 'celebrated in honour of the triumphal entry of the Olympic victors', while a note

¹ Bell, who regards it as an accusative of time, compares τῶν τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος Δομιτιανοῦ ἐφηβευκότων (*POxy* 477, 8 f.; cf. *PW* III, 275). A curious double accusative appears in *IG* II², 2048, 10 ff. ἐγυμνασιάρ|χησε τὸν ἐνιαυ|τὸν τοὺς ἐφήβους.

adds that 'ἡλειος is apparently an unknown word, but perhaps means Elean, viz. Olympic'. This view, however, is unsatisfactory, for (a) the word is separated from εἰσελαστικόν by two intervening epithets, (b) if the reference were to Elis as the home of the Olympic festival, we should expect Ἡλιακόν or Ἡλειακόν rather than Ἡλεῖον, which is normally applied to persons, and (c) it is highly improbable that a reference to games which enjoyed such universal prestige as the Olympia would be wrapped up so as to be barely recognizable. The solution lies, I think, elsewhere, and I propose to write Ἡλειον and see in it a reference to Ἡλιος, the Sun. A famous festival was the Ἀλῆια, celebrated at Rhodes, and this is frequently written Ἀλεια, not only in Rhodes itself, as in *IG* XII (1), 12, 4; 58, 19; A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, 34, 3 (the Index cites also 36, 4, but there Ἀλῆια stands clearly on the stone), but also elsewhere, as in *Delphes*, III (1), 555, 14; *IG* XIV, 739, 20 f. (Naples); 1102, 32 f. (Rome); *IGR* IV, 1432, 18 (Smyrna), and 1519, 15 (Sardis); in the first two passages we have Ἀλεια ἐν Πόδῳ, in the remaining three Πόδον Ἀλεια. This spelling alone is found in the name of the μεγάλη Ἀλεια or Δεῖα Ἀλεια celebrated at Philadelphia (*IGR* IV, 1639, 14; 1645, 2, 13; *Delphes*, III (1), 550, 23, where it is omitted from the Index). In the third century A.D. the Doric form Ἀλεια might well be discarded by a new foundation in favour of Ἡλεια, which would make the reference to Ἡλιος more obvious. The form Ἡλειον causes no difficulty, for the neuter plural of the normal festival-name was often changed to a masculine singular when ἀγών was expressed or understood. Moreover, the introduction of a solar element into the present ἀγών is not surprising in a creation of Elagabalus, who was a devotee and priest of the Syrian sun-god whose name he assumed (the spelling Ἡλιογάβαλος is mistaken, but the error is a very natural one in view of the affinity of the Syrian *baal* and the Greek Ἡλιος) and whose main interest during his brief and tragic reign was the practice and propagation of the cult of the sun-god (cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, 54 ff.; H. M. D. Parker, *History of the Roman World*, 103 ff.).¹

The epithet Λεόντιος baffles me completely. In the *British Museum Quarterly*, loc. cit., there is this note: 'λεόντιος is also obscure, but possibly implies that the games were held in the month Λεοντών, the second in a calendar introduced at Alexandria on June 26, 285 B.C. (see Pauly-Wissowa, hbd. xx, 1588).' But so far as I know neither Λεοντών nor any other month-name of that calendar, based upon the signs of the zodiac, occurs in any inscription or papyrus, and our ἀγών was, as l. 65 expressly states, held on the first day of Ἀθύρ, the third month of the Egyptian year. It is true that the name Λέων and its derivatives and compounds are strikingly common in our ephebe-list and that Λεωνίδης occurs more often than any other name, but I hesitate to suggest either that the lion may have had some special significance for the Memphites or that the expense of the festival may have been borne, at least in part, by a Λέων or Λεοντᾶς (cf. L. Robert, *Rev. Num.* 39, 278). Bell suggests a religious significance and refers to

¹ Bell suggests that the epithet may have a local significance, for Heliopolis, the sacred city of Rē-Harakhti, was not far from Memphis. Many gods, moreover, and the Pharaoh of any dynasty, were equated with Rē, and this would probably hold good of Elagabalus also.—LS says that Ἡλῆια occurs only in the Doric form Ἀλῆια, but this overlooks the use of Ἡλῆια in *IG* II², 3779, 21.

an amulet from Sakḥārah inscribed κλυθί μοι, ὁ ἐν Λεοντωπόδι (l. -λει) τὴν κατοικίαν κεκληρωμένος, . . . ὁ ταχύτερος, ὁ ἐπήκοος θεός, ὁ μεγαλόδοξος λεοντόμορφος (SB 5620); on the verso is the name Μιῶς, the sacred lion worshipped at Leontopolis, not far from Memphis. Possible, but less probable, is a reference to Alexandria; cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια, ἐκλήθη δὲ Ῥακῶτις καὶ Φάρος καὶ Λεοντόπολις, and POxy. 1660, 2.

The word *ισαντινός* appears here for the first time, but it has numerous analogies and its meaning is therefore clear, at least up to a point. In an inscription of Syrian Laodicea, dated A.D. 221, Aurelius Septimius Irenaeus claims to have won ἐν Καισαρείᾳ (i.e. Caesarea Paneas) *ισάκτιον* (sc. *ἀγῶνα*) *παίδων πυγμῆν* (IGR III, 1012, 9), and L. Robert has shown (*Rev. Phil.* 13 (1939), 131 f.) that *ἀγαγόντα εἰσακτίους* (not *ἀπάγοντα εἰς Ἀκτίους*) *ἀγῶνας* must be read in a long-known Beroean inscription and *ισακτίους* in a duplicate of it. Further, a document of Aphrodisias published by P. Paris and M. Holleaux (*BCH* IX, 68 f.) includes among the successes of a *δολιχαδρόμος* of that city victories in the boys' and men's *δόλιχος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Ἀδριάνειον Ἡράκλειον ἰσάκτιον* (ll. 16 ff., 27 ff.), and *εἰσ[άκτιον]* might be restored in l. 12, where the editors note 'les lettres *EIS* sont lisibles, mais nous ne saurions reconstituer le mot dont elles font partie'. In a Berlin papyrus (*BGU* 1074, 16 f.) of the third century A.D. we have [ἐν τῇ λαμπ]ρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁ[ξυρυγχειτῶ]ν [πό]λει ἀγῶνος ἀγομένου πρώτου ἱεροῦ εἰσελαστικοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πενταετηρικοῦ σκηνικοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἰσοκαπιτωλίου τῶν [μεγάλων Καπιτωλείων, and a Delphian victory-record, discussed by Robert in *Rev. Phil.* 4 (1930), 53, mentions Κομμόδεια ἰσοκαπετώλια (*Delphes*, III (1), 555, 19). Again, two passages in the Chian decree accepting the Delphian Soteria speak of an ἀγῶνα . . . ἰσονέμεον (*SIG* 402, 9 f., 23 f.); this word, lacking in LS, recurs, once in the form ἰσον[έμ]ειον, in three other decrees relating to the same occasion, *Delphes*, III (1), 481, 12; 482, 8; 483, 9, which are examined by Robert in *BCH* LIV, 322 ff., 351. But by far the commonest terms of this group are *ισολύμπιος* and *ισοπύθιος*, a natural result of the unique reputation enjoyed by the Olympia and Pythia in the Greek world. To the examples of the former cited in LS many might be added, e.g. *Delphes*, III (3), 240, 9; 261, 28; *IG* XII (1), 77, 3, 772; XII (7), 506, 21, 26, 39; XIV, 748, 4; *IGR* III, 487, 13; 1012, 11; *Stud. Pal.* v, 52–56; III, 13; IV, 10; V, 9, 70, 3, and others quoted below. Even commoner is *ισοπύθιος*. In *Iv Magn.* it occurs in fifty-eight places and can be restored in many more (Index, p. 267), and to the examples given in LS we may add *JHS* 28, 191 (Side); *IGR* I, 802 (Heraclea Thraciae); III, 204, 9 (Ancyra); IV, 1261 (Thyatira), and many others. Usually these epithets agree with ἀγών, expressed or understood, but occasionally with the name of the festival, as in *IG* XIV, 748, 3 f. Ἱταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ ἰσολύμπια; in *Iv Magn.* 16, 29 we find the phrase [ἰ]σοπύθιον στέφανον, and in 57, 9 ἰσοπυθία[ς τιμαῖς] is restored. It was possible to assimilate certain events of a contest to one festival and others to another; thus in *SIG* 402, 9 f. we have τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸμ μὲν μουσικὸν ἰσ[οπύθιον, τὸν δὲ γυ]||μνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἰσονέμεον ταῖς τε ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς, a phrase repeated in ll. 15 f., 24 f., in *Delphes*, III (3), 240, 16 τὸμ μὲν μουσικὸν ἰσοπύθιον, τὸν δὲ γυ[μνικὸν <καὶ ἵππικὸν> ἰσολύμπιον (cf. 261, 13, 28; *BCH* v, 372 ff., ll. 8 f., 15), while G. Daux publishes in *Mélanges Glotz*, 289 ff., the Delphian reply to an embassy sent by Sardis in or about 162 B.C. to ask for the

recognition of an extension of the Sardian festival in honour of Athena Nikaphoros and King Eumenes II by the addition of an ἀγὼν ἵππικὸς ἰσολύμπιος to the already established ἀγῶνες μουσικός τε καὶ γυμνικός ἰσοπύθιοι. Eleven of the Magnesian texts add to ἰσοπύθιος the words ταῖς τιμαῖς, while in others a clause is inserted such as τοῖς νικήσασιν Χαλκ[ι]δ[έων τ]ὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διδόν[αι] τὰ ἴσα ἄθλα, ὅσα περ κ[αὶ] το[ῖς τ]ὰ Πύθια νικήσασιν | ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καθήκε[ι] δίδοσθ[αι] (*Iv Magn.* 47, 22 ff.; cf. 46, 30 f., 50 ff.; *SIG* 390, 39 ff.; 402, 16 ff.).¹

But a further question arises. In the epithets just examined the reference to the famous Actian, Capitoline, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian games is unmistakable; to what games does ἰσαντινός refer? A festival in honour of Antinous, the Bithynian favourite of Hadrian, who met his death in A.D. 130 by drowning in the Nile, was celebrated at his birthplace, Bithynium, later renamed Hadrianeia, as we learn from a record of a δολιχαδρόμος from Aphrodisias, one of whose victories was won ἐν Ἀδριανῇ τῆς Βειθυνίας [s ier]||όν² Ἀδριάνειον Ἀντινόειο[v]|παίδων δόλιχον (*BCH* ix, 68, ll. 14 ff.). At Argos, and also at Mantinea, there was a similar festival (*IG* iv, 590, 11 ἀγωνοθέταν . . . Ἀντινοείων ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ Ἀντινοείων ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. For that at Mantinea see *IG* v (2), 313 and pp. xxxii, 85 ff., 50, 83 ff.), while in Attica two festivals, the Ἀντινόεια ἐν ἄστει and the Ἀντινόεια ἐν Ἐλεισίνι, constantly figure in the ephebic records from about A.D. 135 (*IG* ii², 2042, 8) to about A.D. 265 (*IG* ii², 2245, 175, 178); some of the events included in the programme are indicated in *IG* ii², 2087, 29 ff.; 2119, 126 ff., and the close connexion between these contests and the ephebes in the title ἱερεὺς Ἀντινόου ἐφήβου borne by one of the γυμνασίάρχαι (*IG* ii², 2065, 27, etc.). A festival in honour of Antinous was also observed at Antinoopolis (Antinoe), the scene of his death: in *PLond.* 1164 i, 13 f., dated A.D. 212, we read ἐνίκησεν [ἐ]ν τῇ Ἀντινοοπόλει ἀνδρῶν πυγμῇ τῶν | [με]γάλων Ἀντινοείω[v] (cf. ll. 15–16). It is probable that the epithet ἰσαντινός of the Memphis inscription refers to the Athenian Ἀντινόεια as being, in all likelihood, the most famous games of that name.

After the title of the ἀγὼν comes the name of the official responsible for its conduct, Aurelius Ischyrammon, ἐκ-κοσμητής and member of the local βουλή. He is described as καθηγεμὼν ἐφήβων (l. 3), a title I have failed to discover elsewhere, though in many Attic ephebe-lists we meet an official called ἡγεμὼν (*IG* ii², 2044, 66; 2049, 7; 2067, 7; 2068, 8; 2097, 192; 2102, 47; 2110, 12, etc.), named side by side with the ὄπλομάχος, διδάσκαλος, γραμματεὺς, and other functionaries. The absence of any mention of a γυμνασίάρχης, κοσμητής, or other authority in our preamble is noteworthy. The construction of ἐπί with the dative rather than with the genitive is due to the fact that the preposition means 'under the command of' rather than 'in the year of', the date being recorded at the end of the document (l. 65). In the Attic ephebe-lists this relationship is usually expressed by ὑπό followed by the dative or the accusative, e.g. *IG* ii², 2086, 4 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐφήβους, 2085, 6 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἐφηβεύσαντας, though occasionally ἐπί with

¹ Cf. *PW* i, 698 f., *IGR* i, 802 ἱερὸν Κόρης ἰσοπύθιον ἐν Κυζίκῳ. For *Iv Magn.* 23 see *Archiv*, ii, 543, no. 19; for *Iv Magn.* 58 and 73a, parts of the same inscription, see *SEG* iv, 502.

² The editors write Βειθυνία[s . . .]||ον, but ἱερός (with or without ἀγὼν) is very common in this context (cf. *IGR* i, 802, quoted in preceding note).

the genitive is used, as in 2052, 5 τοὺς ἐπ' αὐ[τοῦ ἐ]φηβεύσαντας, 2110, 4 f. [τοὺς] || ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

L. 4. For εἰσὶ δέ see above (p. 89). All the persons named in the following list bear the Roman *nomen* Aurelius, and space is saved by placing this, in the plural, at the head of the list. Similarly, for example, at Kasr Wadi in Syria we have ἐ[ξ] Αὐρήλιοι (followed by six names with patronymics) ἐκτίσαντο (D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, 196), at Athens five Αὐρήλιοι are denoted as such (*IG* II², 3762), at Lycian Olympus Αὐρήλιοι Φίλητος καὶ Βίων καὶ Ὀνήσιμος (*TAM* II, 1105), and in the Upper Caicus Valley Αὐρη(λίοις) Διογένει καὶ Ἰουλιανῶ καὶ Διοδώρῳ καὶ Μάρκ[ω] (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VI, 87), while at Palmyra [Μάρ]κοι Οὐλπιοι refers to the names which follow (*Syria*, 22, 231). In Attica Αὐρήλιος was usually repeated for each individual, though drastically abbreviated; thus in *IG* II², 2208 Αὐρ. is written twenty-four and Αὐ. seventy-eight times. Sometimes pride forbade curtailment, and so Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος (in the appropriate case) appears in full before the four names mentioned in an honorary inscription, probably from Alexandria (*IGR* I, 1083). The use of Αὐρήλιοι found in our inscription is common in papyri.

II. The Ephebe-List (ll. 5-64)

The heading is followed by a list of sixty-six ephebes, who fall into three groups. First come the eight prize-winners in the newly established ἀγών (ll. 5-15), marked by the addition to their names of the phrase νεικήσας παίδων (or ἀγενίων) πάλην (παγκράτιον, στάδιον, δίαυλον). Next come thirty-nine ordinary ephebes, presumably unsuccessful competitors (ll. 15-50), and at the close nineteen members of a special class (ll. 50-64), οἱ ἐν τάξει ὑπερμεγέθων καὶ ἄλλων καταδεῶν τὴν ὄψιν παραδεχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιστρατήγου (ll. 50-52). I can find no parallel to this description, nor can I suggest any probable explanation of it. Τάξις is frequently used, as apparently here, of 'class', 'category', 'register' (see LS, s.v. τάξις IV, 2), παραδέχομαι and παραδοχή are the regular technical terms indicating 'admission to' or 'reception into' a body (see *PW* II, 239 f.), and A. E. R. Boak, commenting on an ἐπίκρισις-record, dated A.D. 168-9, of an ephebe aged fourteen years, seven months, and one day (*SB* 7427), remarks: 'It seems to me that the word παρεδέχθη, cited from the endorsement of the epistrategus, shows that this official conducted the final ἐπίκρισις of the ephebes in the metropoleis' (*JEA* 13, 153).¹ But who the ὑπερμεγέθεις, the 'overgrown' or 'out-sized' youths were I cannot guess, nor is the meaning of καταδεῶν τὴν ὄψιν obvious. In two papyri of the third century A.D. we find καταδεῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν used for 'falling short of the (prescribed) age', i.e. 'under age' (*POxy.* 54, 2; *PTebt.* 326, 3), and perhaps here the phrase means 'falling short of the (required standard of) eyesight'; in the Michigan papyrus cited above (p. 90) the petitioner, addressing the ἐπιστράτηγος, describes himself as ἀσθενὴς τὴν ὄψιν, having lost one eye (ἐτερόφθαλμος) and being hardly able to use the other.

¹ For παραδέχομαι in the passive cf., for example, *PFlor.* 79, 9 ἀξιῶ παρα[δεχθῆναι] αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους, *POxy.* 477, 24 ἀξιῶ [παραδεχθῆναι] αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους. For the use of τάξις, common in papyri, relating to ephebes Bell refers to *PRyl.* 102, 33 ἀπογρα(φή) ἀφελ(ίκων) τάξεω(s), *POxy.* 1266, 24 ff. ἐν τάξει τῶν ὑπὸ Καπυτίου Παυλείνου ἐπικεκριμένων.

In any case, we seem to have here two groups of youths who would normally have been excluded from the ephebic corps, but have been admitted by special leave of the ἐπιστράτηγος, though perhaps debarred from participation in the ἀγών.

A problem is presented by the first item on the list, Νεμεσίων Λεοντᾶ κοσμητεύσας βουλευτῆς ἀρχιέφηβος νεικήσας παίδων πάλην (ll. 5-6). Here a boy still qualified to compete in the junior class, the παῖδες, and so probably fourteen or fifteen years old (see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 141), is said to be a member of the βουλή and to have already been κοσμητής. This seems to me almost incredible. It is true that minors might occasionally be βουλευταί (E. P. Wegener, *Symbolae van Oven*, 173, 176), but that a boy of this age could have previously occupied the important office of the κοσμητεία I find it hard to believe. Moreover, elsewhere in this inscription the words κοσμητεύσας (ll. 4, 16, 63), βουλευτῆς (l. 4), ἀγορανομήσας (ll. 7, 43), ἀρχιερατεύσας (ll. 9, 44), and ἐξηγητεύσας (l. 46) invariably relate to the καθηγεμῶν ἐφήβων (l. 4) or to the fathers or grandfathers of the ephebes (ll. 7, 8, 16, 43, 46, 63). I am sure that we have an error either of the official who drew up the text or, less probably, of the engraver, and that κοσμητεύσαντος βουλευτοῦ should have been written.¹ Should we then make the same assumption about ἀρχιέφηβος? I think not, for if Leontas had at some previous time held this position we should expect ἀρχιεφηβεύσαντος, while if he still held it, we should naturally look for his name in the heading of the list. But if ἀρχιέφηβος is correct, it shows that this title was held by a boy who had some kind of primacy among the ephebes, like the Head Monitor or Senior Prefect or Dux of a school. On the other hand, it is surprising to find this post occupied by a παῖς rather than an ἀγένειος, and elsewhere the title ἀρχέφηβος (ἀρχιέφηβος occurs here for the first time) or ἐφήβαρχος normally denotes a man of maturer age and higher authority. At Tegea an ephebe-list of A.D. 155-6 refers in the heading to a γυμνασιάρχης, a ὑπογυμνασίαρχος, and an ἀρχέφηβος (IG v (2), 50), one of A.D. 191-2 mentions a γυμνασίαρχος, a ὑπογυμνασίαρχος, and three ἀρχέφηβοι (ibid. 52), and a similar list from Corone in Messenia, dated A.D. 246, records in its heading the names and distinctions of a γυμνασίαρχος and an ἀρχέφηβος (IG v (1), 1398). In these three cases the ἀρχέφηβος is an officer set over the ἐφηβοι, not one of their number. At Argos we come across an ἀρχεφηβεύσαντα (IG iv, 589), presumably of the same type. In Attica I cannot trace the title, but the ἀρχων τῶν ἐφήβων of IG ii², 2097, 26 (cf. 2125, 11; 2130, 50; 3764, 8) may have held a similar position and serves simultaneously as ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Φιλαδελφείων. Outside the Peloponnese we find only the title ἐφήβαρχος, especially common in Asia Minor; some examples of it and of the verb ἐφηβαρχέω are cited in LS, and J. Oehler drew up

¹ Bell suggests that the error, if error there be, may be due to the abbreviation of the titles in the draft from which the engraver worked and his misunderstanding of the case implied; he thinks, however, that, as the financial backing was probably the main requisite of the κοσμητεία, it is not out of the question to suppose that an ephebe might be a κοσμητής, the actual duties of the office being discharged by his tutor. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 321, cites cases of 'minores in Sinne der lex Plaetoria' and of 'impuberes' with a tutor serving as gymnasiarchs from A.D. 166-7 onwards, and of a boy of eleven years of age in the second century A.D. (Milne, *Cat. Cairo Mus. Inscr.* 9314); cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque*, 29 f. For the tenure of the κοσμητεία 'Entlassung aus der patria potestas ist nicht notwendig' (Oertel, 331, referring to Wilcken, *Chr.* 402). In IG ii², 2052, 70 we have apparently a case of an Athenian ephebe being simultaneously ἀγορανόμος, while in 2086, 6 ff. the offices previously held by the father of an ephebe are recorded.

a list of the places where its existence is attested (*RE* v, 2735 f.) and another of those where this official and the *γυμνασίαρχος* function side by side (*RE* vii, 1979 f.). In a note on an inscription of Cyzicus (*SIG* 798, n. 15) Dittenberger says 'Gymnasiarchus omni iuventuti praeerat, ephebarchus, minoris dignitatis magistratus et illi subiunctus, solis ephebis' (cf. *OGI* 339, n. 21), but this does not seem to be universally true, for in an inscription of Branchidae we read ἀποδεδίχθεις δὲ καὶ ἐφήβαρχος προΐσταται τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ νέων εὐκοσμίας (*IBM* 925b, 26 ff.).¹

I need not here discuss the functions of the *βουλή* and of the *ἀρχαί* in the Egyptian *μητροπόλεις*, for no new light is thrown upon them by our inscription.² Beside the political terms already noted only two occur in our list. One woman, the mother of an ephebe, is described as ἀσπή (l. 37), a term characteristic of, but not wholly confined to, Alexandria (Jouguet, 122), while one ephebe is called Νεοκόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς (ll. 38 f.), a phrase which indicates his tribe and deme in one of the Greek cities—Alexandria, Naucratis, Ptolemais, and Antinoopolis—as was shown by F. G. Kenyon (*Archiv*, II, 70 ff.; cf. Jouguet, 121 ff.); the inhabitants of the *μητροπόλεις* were never grouped in tribes and demes (Jouguet, 148). The tribe-name *Νεοκόσμιος* I know elsewhere only in *PFlor.* 92, 1, but the similarly named *Σωσικόσμιος* is well known, not only as a tribe-name (Jouguet, 131, 142 ff.), but as that of a deme of the tribe Ἀδριάνιος at Antinoopolis (*Archiv*, II, 71; *PLond.* III, p. 155). Ἀλθαιεύς, derived from Althaea, grand-daughter of Ariadne and mother of Deianira, is the commonest of all demotics: Jouguet (128 ff., 142 ff.) discusses fully the problem raised by the fact that it is preceded by no fewer than thirteen tribe-names, to which our present inscription adds a fourteenth.³

The names in our list are recorded in varying forms, ranging from the simple *Βησαρίων Θεανούτος* (l. 21) to the complex *Δίδυμος Κασιανού υἱὸς Ἡφαιστολέοντος ἀγορανομήσαντος μητρὸς Ἀπίας θυγατρὸς Σαραπίωνος | τοῦ καὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀρχιερατεύσαντος* (ll. 42 ff.). Of the sixty-six ephebes forty-five have patronymic and metronymic, fourteen (including all eight prize-winners) patronymic only, and seven metronymic only. This last is indicated by the word *μητρὸς* or, more rarely (ll. 27, 44, 55, 60), ἐγ *μητρὸς*, though this seems to have been accidentally omitted in l. 29 and perhaps purposely in l. 64. Occasionally, for the sake of clarity, *υἱὸς* or *θυγάτηρ* (l. 43) is inserted. Double names are very common, indicated by ὁ καὶ (19 examples), ἡ καὶ (ll. 21, 42, 48), or ἐπικαλούμενος (ll. 53, 60). Of the personal names contained in our

¹ Wilcken gives (*Chr.* 166 ff., nos. 141–54) a selection of papyri relating to ephebes and the gymnasium; for the ephebic organization in Roman Egypt see Jouguet, 150 ff., 315 ff.; Hohlwein, 257 f.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 88 ff. Jouguet, 155, says that 'the ephebes are placed under the supervision of the cosmetae and gymnasiarchs' (so Wilcken, 143); this renders the absence of the title *γυμνασίαρχος* from our inscription the more remarkable. The position and functions of the *γυμνασιάρχια* are studied in detail by B. A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiaire des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*. The first ephebe is entitled *πρωτοστάτης ἐφήβαρχος* at Derriopus in Macedonia (N. Vulič, *Sbomenik*, LXXI, 343 = Demitsas, *Μακεδονία*, no. 304), *πρώτος* at Odessus (*IGR* I, 1439). The form *ἐφήβαρχης*, used by Hohlwein, 234, 257, does not, so far as I know, exist.

² On the *βουλή* and *ἀρχαί* see F. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen in römischen Ägypten*, 7 ff., 27 ff.; Hohlwein, *passim*; Jouguet, 272 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 38 ff.; E. P. Wegener, 'The *βουλή* and the nomination of the *ἀρχαί* in the *μητροπόλεις* of Roman Egypt', *Mnemosyne*, ser. IV, 1, 15 ff., 115 ff.

³ Bell regards the description, which recurs in a papyrus of Darb el-Guerza (Philadelphia) of the time of Severus and Caracalla, as certainly Alexandrian.

inscription I give an alphabetical list in view of the interest they claim as reflecting the intermixture of the Greek, Egyptian, Semitic,¹ and Roman elements at Memphis in the early part of the third century of our era: I add an asterisk to those which do not occur in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* and so may be regarded as at least uncommon.

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων 36	*Ἑρμιόνη 39, 53	Λεοντᾶς 5
Αἰλουρίων 62	*Ἑρμοννώφρις 35	Λέων 20
*Ἄλθις 19	Εὐδαίμων 13, 19, 31, 33	Λεωνίδης 6, 7, 8, 28, 35, 38, 41,
Ἀμμωνάριον 27	*Ἑραῖς 49	46, 47, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60,
Ἀμμωνεῖνος 36	*Ἑρακλᾶς 64	64
Ἀμμωνίλλα 37, 62	*Ἑρακλεία 27, 34	Λουκίλλα 30, 31
Ἀμμώνιος 12, 41, 50	*Ἑρακλείδης 29, 64	Λούππος 18
Ἀμμωνοῦς 53, 55	*Ἑράκλειος 25	Λυκαρίων 29, 49
Ἀνείκητος 24	*Ἑρακλῆς 14, 25, 31, 57	Μάξιμος 50
Ἀνουβίανα 36, 56	*Ἑρων 16, 26	Μάρκος 65
Ἀνουβίων 17, 26, 45, 63	*Ἑφαιστίων 18, 49, 63	Μίκις 56
Ἄπεις 62	*Ἑφαιστολέων 22, 42	Νειλάμμων 46
Ἀπία 43	*Ἑφαιστος 17, 20, 45, 47	Νεμεσίων 5, 27, 61, 61, 64
Ἀπίων 40, 40	Θαήνσις 64	Νεμεσοῦς 18
Ἀπολινάριος 49	Θαῆσις 55, 57	*Νεχθερώους 59, 60
Ἀπόλλων 41, 58	Θάψοις 23	Πάεις 11
Ἀπολλωνιάς 21	*Θάφμοις 60	Πιεσίης 59
Ἀπολλώνιος 8, 45	Θεανοῦς 22	Ποσειδώνιος 22
Ἀπολλωνοῦς 57	Θερμοῦθις 52	*Ποσειτάριον 19
Ἀρποκράς 32	Θέων 25, 26, 38, 57	*Ποταμίων 41
Ἀρποκρατίων 24, 54	*Ἱερακίανα 42	Ποτάμων 44
Ἀρσίνοος 18	*Ἱερακίων 32	Πτολεμαῖος 13
Ἀρτεμεις 28, 29, 32, 35, 40, 54, 62	*Ἱππίας 52	*Ροῦφος 40
Ἀρτεμίδωρος 6	*Ἰσιδώρα 16, 25, 42, 44, 45	Σαμβαθοῦς 59
Ἀτιλίων 61	*Ἰσιδώρος 14, 15, 18	Σαραπάμμων 6
Αὐρήλιος 3, 4, 65	*Ἰσχυράμμων 3	Σαραπιάς 30, 38
Ἀχιλλεύς 36	*Ἰσχυράς 13, 14, 17, 25, 37	Σαραπίων 4, 9, 12, 15, 16, 19,
Βησαρίων 21	*Ἰσχυρίανα 33	23, 24, 30, 33, 38, 43, 56, 62
Δημήτριος 17, 55	*Ἰσχυρίων 53	*Σαραποδιδυμος 47
Δημητροῦς 55	*Ἰσχυροῦς 61	*Σαραποδιόσκορος 10, 48
Δίδυμος 37, 42, 46, 47, 61	Καλλίνεικος 39	Σερήνος 34, 59, 62
Διονύσιος 8, 9, 21, 28, 39, 39	Κασσιανός 42	Σκύβαλος 35
Διοσκοράμμων 15	Κάσιος 12, 49	Σύρα 59
Διόσκορος 10, 10, 19, 20, 27,	Κοῖντος 27	Φιμήνιος 54
28, 29, 30, 32, 37, 40, 49, 53	Κολλουθίων 11	Φρόντων 22, 23
Διοσκοροῦς 24	*Κοροῦς 17	Χαιρημονίς 48
Διοσκουριδής 16	*Κόρρης 60	Χαιρήμων 45, 53, 56, 56
Δωρᾶς 44	Κυρίλλα 63	*Χάρισσα 20
Εἷσις 58, 64	*Κύρων 31	*Ωριγένης 30, 63
*Ἑρμείας 12, 12	*Λεόνταρος 58	*Ωρίων 23, 34, 34, 37, 58
*Ἑρμεῖνος 32	*Λεονταροῦς 20, 21, 23, 26, 47,	*Ωρος 52
*Ἑρμῆς 33	48	

¹ For the Semitic name Σαμβαθοῦς (l. 59) see H. C. Youtie, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 37, 209 ff.

III. The Date (l. 65)

The record can be dated within narrow limits. The appearance of the title *βουλευτής* (ll. 4, 5) shows that the inscription is later than A.D. 202, when first the Egyptian *μητροπόλεις* received *βουλαί* from Septimius Severus (Jouguet, 345 ff.). Further, the fact that all the ephebes are Aurelii indicates a date later than the *Constitutio Antoniniana*¹ of A.D. 212. The *ἀγών* in question took place (l. 65) on the first day of *Ἀθύρ* (the third month of the Egyptian calendar, extending from October 28 to November 26) in the fourth year of a Roman Emperor whose cognomen, though erased with the exception of its last letter, was certainly Antoninus; the erasure, a consequence of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Emperor, was half-heartedly carried out,² and clear traces remain on the stone of the initial *AN* and of the *NO* preceding the final *Υ*. Now *Ἀὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός* is the Greek equivalent of *Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus*, the official title of the Emperor commonly called Elagabalus (*PIR* I, 194 ff., Dessau, *ILS* III, 292 f.). He was saluted as Emperor in the camp at Raphanea at sunrise on May 16, 218, and made good his claim by defeating Macrinus near Antioch on June 8 and subsequently putting him to death. He himself went to Rome in 219 and was murdered there on March 11, 222; his body was thrown into the Tiber and he underwent the *damnatio memoriae*. His first *tribunicia potestas* lasted from his accession to December 9, 218, and the second, third, and fourth began on December 10, 218, 219, and 220 respectively, but according to the Egyptian reckoning his second regnal year began on 1 *Θώθ* (August 29) 218, and so his fourth year extended from August 29, 220, to August 28, 221; thus 1 *Ἀθύρ* in his fourth year was October 28, 220, and our inscription was presumably engraved shortly after that date. Evidently the order for the abolition of every memorial of the dead Emperor could be satisfied by the erasure of the name Antoninus, and this course was followed not here alone but in *IGR* III, 62 (Prusias ad Hypium) and in many Latin inscriptions;³ *Ἀντωνινιανόν* (l. 3), however, remained untouched, unlike the *Antoniniana* of Dessau, *ILS* 470. The foundation by Elagabalus of an *ἐφηβικός ἀγών* at Memphis may have been due in part to his own youth. Born in 204, he was at the time of his accession fourteen years old, the age at which in Egypt the ephebic training normally began (Jouguet, 150 ff.; Hohlwein, 257; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 141), and at the date recorded in our inscription he was sixteen years of age.⁴

¹ Jouguet, 351 ff.; cf. S. N. Miller, *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, 45 ff., 734; *Fontes Juris Romani Antejustiniani*², I, 445 ff.; J. Stroux, *Philologus*, 88, 272 ff.

² Bell notes that 'the (partial) deletion of *Ἀντωνεῖνου* finds many parallels in the often very perfunctory deletion in papyri of Geta's name.

³ Dessau, *ILS* 466, 468, 471, 472, 2442, 5843, 5853, 6219, etc.

⁴ In *British Museum Quarterly*, 3, 47, the reading of l. 65 of the Memphis inscription is given as *εὐτόχου* [sic] *σεβαστοῦ*, but the final *s* of *Εὐτυχούς* is clear, though very narrow. Two other documents of Elagabalus' fourth year are *SB* 7407, 22 ff. (18.8.221) and 7468, 20 ff. (24.2.221). For that Emperor's foundation of the Augustea at Thyatira see *IGR* IV, 1251 (cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, 119 ff.; *Hellenica*, v, 32); for the games at Sidon see above, p. 91.

PICTORIAL COIN-TYPES AT THE ROMAN MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

A SECOND SUPPLEMENT

By the late J. G. MILNE

IN a paragraph added to the supplementary article on pictorial coin-types at the Roman mint of Alexandria¹ it was mentioned that two new types had just been discovered which belonged to that series: these can now be described in more detail (figs. 1 and 2).

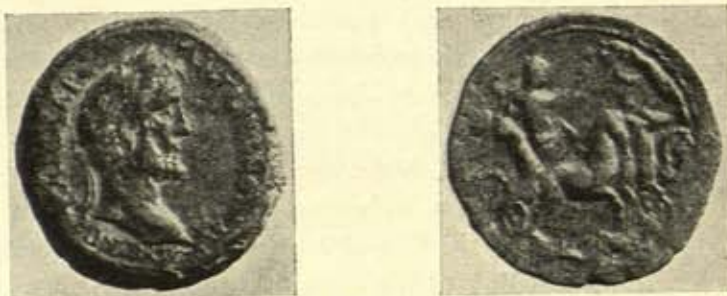


FIG. 1.

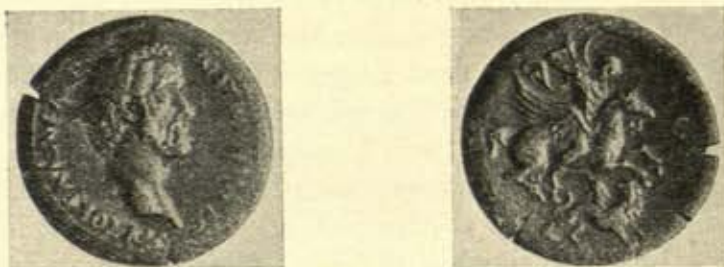


FIG. 2.

- (1) *Obv.* Σ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤΑΔΡ Σ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC Head of Antoninus Pius r. laureate.
Rev. Hades standing to front, head l., with r. arm supporting Persephone who is falling backwards with arms raised, in quadriga with horses galloping r.: above horses, Eros flying r., below, overturned basket: half-arch of rocks above on r.: in field, over horses' heads, $\frac{\text{L}}{\text{C}}$. 34 mm., 25.25 gm.
- (2) *Obv.* Σ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΙΤΑΔΡ Σ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC LC Head of Antoninus Pius r. bare.
Rev. Bellerophon riding r., wearing chlamys which floats behind him, with javelin raised in r. hand, on Pegasus flying r.: below, Chimaera running r. with head turned back: in field r., $\frac{\text{L}}{\text{C}}$. 34 mm., 25.19 gm.

The final LC in the obverse legend of the second coin should be read LE to agree with the date on the reverse, as M. Henri Seyrig pointed out when sending particulars of the

¹ *JEA* 36, 85.

coin, which is at Bērūt;¹ but it is probable that the two letters there are due to a mistake of the engraver, as a date is out of place in the obverse legend of an Alexandrian coin of Antoninus, or indeed anywhere on the obverse of any Alexandrian coin later than Domitian. The formula of the legend, commencing ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙCΑΔΡ, is unusual,² and only appears to be recorded elsewhere for Alexandria on two other large bronze coins of the same fifth year of Antoninus—one in the Ashmolean with the reverse type of Isis nursing Harpocrates,³ the other in the British Museum with the reverse type of the Pharos:⁴ in the latter case the legend, according to the British Museum Catalogue, is blundered. It seems that the mint-engravers in this year may have been experimenting with designs for their obverses: in two of the cases described above the head of the Emperor is laureate, in one bare, and in the fourth radiate.

The two new coins show reasons for modifying the conclusions suggested previously as to the possible derivation of the types in the Alexandrian pictorial series from Asia Minor. It is true that both of the new types have some mythological connexion with Asia Minor, though neither of them is known as a coin-type there, except that the abduction of Persephone by Hades appears on a medallion of the Ionian League (fig. 3).⁵



FIG. 3.

But a comparison of the type on (1) with that on the Ionian medallion shows many points of difference in design as well as in execution: the reverse of the medallion is figured above from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum. The Ionian version might be derived from a bas-relief, or an excerpt from one of the many groups on sarcophagi reproduced in Overbeck's Atlas:⁶ the Alexandrian one in some details suggests rather an origin in a painting or mosaic. For instance, in the Alexandrian type the horses seem to be galloping into a cavern, indicated by the half-arch of rocks, which does not appear in the Ionian; and the action of the horses is much freer in the former than in the latter. This design is not so clearly suggestive of a derivation from painting as in the case of the scene of the judgement of Paris illustrated in the first article on this group of types at Alexandria,⁷ but it tends in the same direction.

¹ I am indebted to M. Seyrig for permission to publish this coin and for a description and photograph.

² See the list in R. Münsterberg, *Die römischen Kaisernamen der griechischen Münzen*, in *NZ* 59 (1926).

³ Ashmolean Museum, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*, No. 1695.

⁴ *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Alexandria*, No. 1205.

⁵ *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, p. 16, No. 1.

⁶ Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunstmythologie*, pl. 17.

⁷ *JEA* 29, pl. 4, 9.

Professors Sir John Beazley and Bernard Ashmole have both advised me that there must have been 'pattern books' or some form of models of mythological designs available in antiquity, though there is no evidence of their exact nature. These would pass freely amongst artists and craftsmen, who could select the particular design most suitable for their purpose, and possibly introduce variations to adapt it to their field. It is probable that new artists were employed at Alexandria to design the dies for this 'pictorial' series, since the handling in the work of the two whose technique can be compared, as shown in the first article, is quite unlike anything that had appeared previously at that mint. The new artists may have come from Asia Minor, but the only ground for suggesting this is the preference manifested for subjects with an Asiatic context: the patterns were the common property of the Greek world. Moreover, these subjects were not only new to the Alexandrian coin-series, but were of quite a different class from those of previous issues: so that if the authorities, as seems possible, desired to introduce a purely Greek rather than a Graeco-Egyptian set of coin-types, they would be likely to go abroad for their artists. The importation of technicians to the Alexandrian mint can be discerned in several cases, and sometimes traced back to the source—for instance, to Antioch under Vespasian and to Rome under Severus Alexander. It may be noted that the new men seem to have been engaged only on the reverse dies: the obverses were of the style normal at Alexandria, and the same obverse dies were used in some cases for the pictorial reverses and for the commoner ones.

The two new types described do not throw any fresh light on the motives which prompted the mint officials at Alexandria to make an innovation in their choice of subjects for the reverses of the bronze drachmas. Coins do not appear to have been used for purposes of political propaganda in Egypt, as they were at Rome,¹ except possibly in a few isolated issues. There was in the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt very little occasion for such propaganda: on the one hand there was in Alexandria a mixed population which was normally split up into two factions, who were more engaged in quarrelling with each other than in uniting against the government which they both disliked, and on the other in the Chora the mass of the natives had no opportunity, even if they had had the desire, for mixing in any political affairs. Nationalism, in the sense of a common assertion of any claim to self-government, did not exist: occasionally in the second century a would-be national leader appeared and gathered some following, but these risings were always taken in hand and suppressed, with ease in the Chora, though with some difficulty in one or two cases at Alexandria. It seems most likely that either an idilogus or some subordinate in his office, which was probably responsible for the mint, was an enthusiast for Hellenic culture, and sought to promote it in Egypt: he may have been inspired by the example of the Roman mint-officials under Antoninus, as suggested in the first article, and meant to produce some coins of a medalllic character. But the attempt fell flat: the issues must have been limited, as there are very few examples known of most of the types, and these examples seldom show any signs of having been handled or circulated: none are found with piercings, as is frequently the case with the commemorative bronze drachmas of the third century.

¹ See J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, part v, especially c. 1, on 'Medallions and Politics'.

A SYRIAC *NOTITIA URBIS ALEXANDRINAE*¹

By P. M. FRASER

MICHAEL BAR ELIAS, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch from 1166 to 1199, was a voluminous writer in Syriac.² The most famous of his works is the so-called *Chronicle*.³ This work, which exists in a single manuscript dated A.D. 1598, consists of 777 pages of Syriac text, divided into twenty-one books, and covers the period from the Creation until the writer's own day. Michael does not fail to quote his sources carefully. He states that the first six books, covering the period from Adam to A.D. 306/7, are based on Eusebius' *Chronicon*⁴ (the Syriac version of which does not survive independently);⁵ and a comparison of these books with the Armenian Eusebius and with Jerome's Latin version shows that, for long stretches, he reproduces Eusebius almost verbatim.

Michael's chronicle of events from the accession of Alexander the Great contains, however, some material which is not in any of the surviving versions of Eusebius. Thus his account of Alexander's conquests, though based essentially on that writer, shows signs of considerable influence from the Alexander-Romance, though it does not correspond to any single surviving version of it. According to Michael,⁶ Alexander subdued Epirus, Hyrcania, and Media, mastered all farther Asia, crossed the Indus and conquered India and Saba. He married Roxane, daughter of Darius, and took her sister into captivity with her. He built twelve cities; he built the Gate of Fire to keep out the Huns, and the Gate was twelve feet high, and eight feet broad; he subdued the Jews who welcomed him; he offered a sacrifice to Jehovah, and honoured Andromachus the High-Priest. When the Samaritans killed the priest, Alexander returned from Egypt, destroyed the Samaritans, and established Macedonians in Samaria. He proceeded to Ammon and built Paretonium. Finally, arriving at Babylon, after a reign of twelve years and seven months, he was compelled by one of his nobles to drink poison, and died.⁷

¹ For help in the interpretation of the Syriac text I am greatly indebted to Mr. O. H. M. Lehmann.

² For the life of Michael see Chabot, *Chronique*, I, pp. iii-xvi.

³ Published for the first time, from a unique manuscript at that time in the Jacobite Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Orfa (Edessa) in Mesopotamia by the Abbé J.-B. Chabot. Chabot's publication is in four volumes (1899-1910), of which the first three contain the introduction and translation, and the fourth the Syriac text. Chabot's valuable introduction has helped me considerably in finding my way about this immense text; he is not, however, concerned with the historical analysis of the text. In this field there remains much work still to be done.

⁴ See *Chronicon*, VII, ch. 2 (= I, p. 246, tr. = 126, Syr. text; pp. 253-5, tr. = 127-8, Syr. text).

⁵ For Syriac résumés of the Syriac Eusebius see Chabot, I, pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁶ *Chronicon*, V, ch. 3 (= I, p. 133, tr. = 71-72, Syr. text).

⁷ This brief summary of the career of Alexander, which is closely akin, in so far as concerns the Jewish part, to the versions in Josephus, Ps.-Call., and Eusebius (see Pfister, *SB. Heid. Akad.*, 1914 (11), pp. 22-30), has no counterpart in the Syriac Alexander-Romance, except perhaps in the Gate of Fire, connected with the legend of Gog and Magog (for which see A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, 1932, *passim*). The death by poison is a feature common to the Greek versions of the Romance: cf. Ps.-Call. ed. Müller, III, 31.

In a parallel column to this narrative are added items of contemporary history, without exact chronological sequence. It is these which are of particular interest, and so far as I am aware they have never been discussed in print.¹ I therefore translate the French version of the parallel text made by the Abbé Chabot.²

'Alexandria the Great was built in Egypt in the seventh year of Alexander. He reigned twelve years and built twelve cities each bearing the name of Alexandria. These cities were traced by the illustrious Athenian geometers, Aristotle, Timoneos, and Pericles.

'At Antioch there existed (or exists) at the middle of the *demosion*, on a column of Apollo, on a bronze stela an inscription reading as follows: Bartella is greater than Ephesus by 3,011 feet: Ephesus surpasses Nicomedia by 1,700 feet: Nicomedia surpasses Antioch by 1,820 feet; and Alexandria is greater than these four cities, for it measures 14,987 feet.

'At Alexandria one finds in Quarter A:

308 temples, 1,655 courts, 5,058 houses, 108 baths, 237 taverns, 112 porticoes.

'In Quarter B:

110 temples, 1,002 courts, 5,990 houses, 145 baths, 107 taverns.

'In Quarter Γ:

855 temples, 955 courts, 2,140 houses, . . . baths, 205 taverns, 78 porticoes.

'In Quarter Δ:

800 temples, 1,120 courts, 5,515 houses, 118 baths, 178 taverns, 98 (porticoes).

'In Quarter E:

405 temples, 1,420 courts, 5,593 houses, . . . baths, 118 taverns, 56 porticoes.

'Thus the total number of temples is 2,393 (in fact, 2,478); of courts 8,102 (in fact, 6,152); of houses, 47,790 (in fact, 24,296); of baths, 1,561; of taverns, 935 (in fact, 845); of porticoes, 456.

'This does not include the Quarter of Hadrianos which is immense; nor of Lochias, which is outside of Pharos; nor of Antirrhodos, nor of the Refuge of the Serapeum; nor of the isle of ANOTINOS PANDOTOS; nor of Zephyrion, nor of Canopus, nor of the New Canal, nor of Nicopolis, nor of the Camp of Manutius, nor of Bendideion.

'Alexandria is the greatest of the cities of the inhabited world.'

Such is the text. Some attempt must be made to estimate its value.

The first point to make clear is that no similar account of Alexandria exists in any Greek or Latin writer. In spite of this, however, its fundamental reliability is demonstrated by two facts:

1. The division into five *γράμματα* is preserved (cf. below). The use of these letters is attested from the Hellenistic age until the third century A.D.³

2. The list of 'other quarters' corresponds in the main to what is known from other sources. Thus Hadrianos, Lochias, Antirrhodos, the Serapeum area, Zephyrion, Canopus, Nicopolis, Eleusis, and Bendideion are all attested.⁴ The 'New Canal' can hardly be identified, since Alexandria possessed various *διώρυγες* at various times.⁵ The 'Isle of Anotinos Pandotos' is, I believe, hitherto unknown, nor am I able to explain it as

¹ Chabot, ad loc., says only: 'Je n'ai pu retrouver la source grecque à laquelle l'auteur a puisé cette description.'

² *Chronic.* v, ch. 3 (= 1, pp. 113-15, lower text, tr. = 72-73, left and right cols. Syr.).

³ See Calderini, *Diz. Top.*, s.v. *Ἀλεξάνδρεια*, pp. 79-80. I must here express my indebtedness to this valuable collection of material.

⁴ On Lochias, Antirrhodos, the Serapeum area, Canopus, Nicopolis, Eleusis, and Bendideion, see Calderini, op. cit., *Ἀλεξανδ.*, sub vocc. He omits Zephyrion, for which see Strabo 800.

⁵ See Calderini, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

it stands. It is possible that the scribe has written Anotinos erroneously for Antoninos, Antinoos, or Antonios, since the distinction between the four words is very slight in Syriac.¹ If Antoninos be the correct reading the reference may be to some public works of Antoninus Pius, whose building activity at Alexandria is well attested.² Equally unknown to me is the Camp of Manutius; Manutius is not a known Roman *nomen gentilitium*, and it may be suspected that the original text had Munatius, and embodied a reference to L. Munatius Felix, Prefect of Egypt under Antoninus Pius³—though there can be no doubt that the scribe wrote Manutius.⁴

Before leaving this list of localities a digression on the name Hadrianos may be permitted. This locality (unlike the others previously known) is not recorded by any ancient author, but occurs in several papyri, the mutilated condition of which has prevented any certainty as to the precise meaning of the word Ἀδριανός.⁵ Our Syriac text should put beyond doubt the fundamental fact that it was a recognized locality, which, doubtless, grew around and out of the temple built by Hadrian, the Ἀδριανεῖον, known from a few documents.⁶ One papyrus, reading ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανῷ γράμ[ματι], if the supplement be correct seems to indicate that Ἀδριανός was a *gramma* or main division of Alexandria, like A, B, and so on.⁷ This is perhaps supported by our text. The word used to describe the quarter of Hadrianos, ܠܥܠܐ, is the same as that used for A B Γ Δ and E, and this, for which Chabot gives 'quarters', means, literally, 'letters'.⁸ It is the 'letters' of Hadrianos which are immense, and it seems certain that the ultimate source of this phrase contained in all six instances the word γράμμα or a kindred substantive.⁹ The word ܠܥܠܐ is not met elsewhere in Syriac, so far as I can discover, with the meaning it bears here. There is, however, one obvious difficulty; this word is used in the singular of the other five γράμματα, while for Hadrianos the plural is used, thus suggesting that Hadrianos had itself more than one *gramma*; this, if not due to a slight error in orthography, means that we cannot assume without more ado that the Greek text had τὸ Ἀδριανοῦ γράμμα. In spite of this difficulty, the passage seems to establish beyond doubt that Hadrianos was an important quarter of

¹ With the vowel-signs omitted the words are written thus: ANOTINOS: ܐܢܘܬܝܢܘܣ; ANTONIUS: ܐܢܬܘܢܝܘܣ; ANTONINOS: ܐܢܬܘܢܝܢܘܣ; ANTINOOS: ܐܢܬܘܢܝܢܘܣ.

² Cf. Malal. xi, 280; Niceph. Call. iii, 31 (in PG 145).

³ Cf. Stein, RE, s.v. Munatius (17).

⁴ The aleph in second place is a *mater lectionis*.

⁵ (a) POxy. vii, 1045, a census-roll of c. A.D. 205, ll. 25-27: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νικαι[—] | καὶ Ἡράκλεια τῶν [—] ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανῷ γράμ[ματι?]. (b) BGU, 1084 = WChrest. 146, a reception of ephebes, A.D. 149, ll. 30-33: Ἀδριανοῦ ἐκ πλαγίου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου. (c) Chron. d'Eg. 7, 300 ff. = SB 7561, an interrogation of ephebes (s. ii, A.D.), ll. 10-11: ποῦ οἰκεῖς; ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανῷ προσ —: ll. 18-19: Ἀδριανοῦ ἐκ πλαγίου Π[τολ]εμαί[ου] τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου γραμ[μ] . . . (d) JEA 12, 245 ff. = SB 7239, reception of ephebes (A.D. 140/1), ll. 24-27: Ἀ[δριαν]οῦ ἐκ πλαγίου Πτολε[μαίου] τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ [καὶ Ἀ]ρποκρατίωνος. Calderini, op. cit., p. 90, top, recognizes that Hadrianos must have been a quarter of Alexandria, but he has not got all the evidence. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, iii, 256, gives Ἀδριανός (?), under Ἀδριανεῖον, referring to POxy. 1045. That the building the Ἀδριανεῖον could also be called Ἀδριανός, though the papyri above certainly do not refer to the temple-building, emerges from Epiphanius, Haeres. lxi, 2 (PG 42, col. 204b) unless the text be emended to Ἀδριανεῖον at that point.

⁶ See Calderini, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

⁷ See n. 5 (a).

⁸ See Brockelmann, Lex. Syr., s.v. ܠܥܠܐ.

⁹ E.g. σημείον, which would also be translated by ܠܥܠܐ.

the city.¹ Its exclusion from the statistics, along with the other suburbs, probably indicates that it was on the periphery of the city.

Michael does not himself record the source of his information, or the period in the history of Alexandria which it describes. I think, not only on grounds of *a priori* probability, but also in view of the peculiar use of the Syriac ܠܫܐܠܐ, that it may be accepted as certain that the original text, at whatever number of removes, was Greek. To the date of its composition a *terminus post quem* is provided by the reference to the Hadrianos; the document, or this part of it (though there is nothing to suggest that chronologically it is not homogeneous) cannot be earlier than the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117-38.

A narrower limit may be indicated by three arguments:

1. By a point of Syriac lexicography. A comparison between the description of Alexandria and the description of Rome which occurs in the Syriac adaptation of Zachariah of Mytilene's *Ecclesiastical History*, and twice (on both occasions repeating Zachariah almost verbatim) in Michael, and which is an almost verbatim translation of the second Latin account of Rome, the so-called *Breviarium*, appended to the *Notitia Urbis* and the *Curiosum Urbis*,² reveals a significant fact. This description of Rome enumerates the Basilicas and churches of Rome, but though it mentions numerous pagan remains, statues, and so forth, it contains no reference to pagan temples. In all the Syriac versions the word used for 'churches' is ܠܫܐܠܐ, the word which is normally used of a Christian church or congregation, and not, apparently, used of pagan religious assemblies.³ In contrast to this the description of Alexandria in Michael contains no reference to basilicas or churches, but enumerates the 'temples' of the city, using for 'temples' the word ܡܚܠܐ, which is used only once, and then in a special context, of a Christian church, but which is the normal word for a pagan palace or temple, particularly a Jewish one.⁴ It seems therefore certain that the temples here enumerated, in contrast to the list in the very similar description of Rome, are not Christian churches, and that there is no reference to Christian buildings in the document at all. It therefore seems probable, on this ground, that the document was composed at a time when

¹ It must be pointed out that in the Syriac Michael does not speak of the letters of Lochias, Antirrhodos, etc. Chabot's translation: 'Cela sans parler des quartiers d'Adrianos, qui est immense, ni de Lochias . . . ni d' . . . ni de . . . etc.' is not literal. The literal meaning is, 'Leaving out of account the letters of Hadrianos . . . and leaving out of account Lochias, Antirrhodos, etc.'. Thus the relative dependence, 'quarters of . . . of . . . of . . .' exists only in the French translation, and there is no reason to apply ܠܫܐܠܐ to Lochias etc. If the force of the plural 'letters' of Hadrianos be retained it would be necessary to suppose that Hadrianos in its turn was divided up into *grammata*; a complicated explanation from which I shrink.

² These two manuscripts were originally published by I. Guidi in *Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom.* 1885 and 1891 from Zachariah and Michael respectively; at that date, however, the complete text of the latter was not published. The passages are to be found in their respective authors: Zach. Mityl. *Chronicle*, x, 16, in *Corp. Script. Or. Script.*, Syr. Script., ser. 3, vol. vi, pp. 131 ff. = Hamilton-Brooks, *Chronicle of Zachariah* (1898), pp. 317-19; Michael, *Chronic.* iv, ch. 16 (= i, p. 81, tr. = 49, Syr. text), and ix, ch. 29 (= ii, pp. 241-2, tr. = 309-10, Syr. text). They are also reproduced and translated in Valentini-Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, 1 (1940), pp. 320-34. For the relation of the Syriac Zachariah to its Greek original cf. Hamilton-Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

³ Brockelmann, s.v., and for the New Testament references, Jennings, *Lex. Syr. New Test.*, s.v.

⁴ See Brockelmann, s.v. ܡܚܠܐ. For the meaning 'ecclesia', Brockelmann gives only Zach. Mit., *Life of*

there were many temples, and few, if any, churches in Alexandria, that is, before the triumph of Christianity in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century.¹

2. By the absence of the Brucheion from the list of suburbs or quarters. Brucheion was destroyed in A.D. 272 by the Palmyrene forces of Zenobia.² Before that it was undoubtedly an important part of the city, and its inclusion would be expected here. It is, however, possible that it lay within one of the five *grammata*, in which case there would naturally be no specific reference to it. It may be noted that Epiphanius, writing in the middle of the fourth century, and describing the isolation of Brucheion in his day, calls it a *κλίμα*,³ which sounds like an official term, if of uncertain meaning, and one for which, I think, there is no parallel in connexion with the topography of Alexandria.

3. By the reference to the Refuge (قَصْدُ الْمَحْجَلِ) of the Serapeum. This temple was destroyed on Theodosius' orders in A.D. 391,⁴ and it seems unlikely that either the temple or complex of buildings associated with it would retain its pagan name after that date.⁵ This again suggests, though it does not prove, a date not later than the end of the fourth century after Christ for the original document.

The value of the figures in the text cannot be determined in the absence of parallel detailed information from other sources. Many, certainly, seem very high at first sight, but can hardly be dismissed as impossible since there is no means of determining exactly what the document subsumes under a particular heading. Thus, if مَحْجَل is used in the strict sense of 'temple', a figure of 2,393 seems improbable, but if private shrines and sanctuaries within temples are included it is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility. The total of houses, 47,790, certainly does not seem unduly high, since the free population of Alexandria, according to official sources at the time of Diodorus Siculus, c. 30 B.C.,⁶ was more than 300,000. The figure of houses is, it may be noted, extraordinarily close to the figure given in the *Curiosum Urbis Romae* for Rome, namely 48,392, at approximately the same date.⁷ The number of baths, 1,561, is *Severus of Antioch*, ed. Kugener (*PO* 11), p. 48, line 11. But even here the use of the term is symbolic; Kugener translates: 'Je vais te conduire au temple de la mère de Dieu.'

¹ Contrast the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* (for which see below, p. 108, n. 2), composed in the reign of Theodosius II (A.D. 408–50), which mentions only Christian churches ('ecclesiae quattuordecim').

² See Amm. Marc. XXII, 16, 15: the event is recorded by Michael himself, *Chron.* VI, 9 (= I, p. 197, tr. = 117 Syr.).

³ Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.* IX (PG 43, col. 249): (Πτολεμαῖος Φιλάδελφος) ὅστις βιβλιοθήκην κατασκευάσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως ἐν τῷ Βρουχίῳ καλουμένῳ κλίματι (καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἔρημον τανῶν ὑπάρχον). It is of no particular significance for us that this passage (along with several others) is omitted from the Syriac version of the *De Mens. et pond.*, published by J. E. Dean, Chicago Univ. Press, 1935 (p. 27, tr. = 53C, Syr. text).

⁴ See esp. Sozom, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 15; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 16; and see Calderini, op. cit., pp. 144–5; and Nock, *Vigil. Christ.* III, 1949, p. 56, on Eunapius, pp. 41 ff. Boiss.

⁵ Thus Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* II, 292 (PG 86, col. 2512A) speaks of ἱερὸν τὸ πάλαι Σαράπιδος.

⁶ Diod. XVII, 52, 6 (information provided by οἱ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἔχοντες τῶν κατοικούντων).

⁷ See Valentini-Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico*, pp. 161–2: 'insulae per totam urbem. xlii. Dcii. Domos. M.Dccxc.' Cf. ibid., p. 188. In the description of Alexandria if the word ܠܝܬܐ, translated by Chabot, 'cours', is also to be taken as referring to private dwellings, as seems almost certain, since that is the fundamental meaning of the word, then the Alexandrian total would be considerably in excess of that of Rome. At the same time a division of private residences parallel with that into insulae and domus, found in the Roman catalogue, would be created.

probably not unduly large, if this total may be presumed to include both public and private baths. The number of baths recorded in the Roman catalogues is 856,¹ while the Constantinopolitan *notitia* gives 153, which are specified as private.²

In seeking to classify this document it is natural to look for parallels in the Graeco-Roman world from which it so obviously derives. In that world one is forcibly reminded of two documents, the *catalogus* of the fourteen regions of Rome, represented in the parallel traditions of the *Notitia Urbis* and the *Curiosum Urbis*,³ and the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.

All three documents are of the same type. To all the arrangement by quarters is fundamental, but while the Roman and Constantinopolitan texts detail the monuments (or those of topographical interest) within each *regio* by name, and then give the statistical details as to houses, etc., in each region, finally giving after the description of the fourteenth *regio* a summation by headings which cut across the regional surveys, the Alexandrian document presents a purely statistical survey under each heading without information as to monuments. It might either be argued that the topographical description existed here too at one stage, but was omitted when the document was used for purely practical ends, or that the document represents an earlier type of *notitia*, in which topographical information has not yet been inserted. In either eventuality the kinship between the Syriac and Latin texts seems evident, and although it would be unwise to dogmatize, it nevertheless may be suggested that the original of the Syriac text was an official *ἀναγραφή*, and not a literary descriptive piece such as the Constantinopolitan *Notitia* manifestly is.⁴

¹ See *Codice Topografico*, pp. 162, 188.

² *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876 (behind his edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*), p. 243. Mr. C. H. Roberts points out to me that the small number of baths in Constantinople may be explained by the Christian hostility to baths as a cause of immorality.

³ For the relation of the two traditions see *Codice Topografico*, 1, pp. 63-73, and the literature there cited.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 229, ll. 27 ff.: 'Universis igitur eius partibus diligenter inspectis, corporum quoque eidem inservientium recensito numero, fidem rerum omnium notitia circumscribente signavi, ut admirantis intentio singulis edocta monumentis, amplitudine quoque tantae felicitatis attonita fateatur, huic urbi nec laudem sufficere nec amorem.'

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Kagemni once again

W. FEDERN's notes (*JEA* 36, 48-50) are to be welcomed because it is only by weighing all possible alternatives that the better understanding of such a text can be obtained. It will possibly interest some readers to know my reactions to F.'s thoughtful and occasionally really useful suggestions.

1, 1. *Sndw* 'respectful', 'deferential'; F. aptly quotes *swd; sndw* from *BH*. 1, 7, and is on the right track in preferring 'submissive' to my 'timid'; *Urk.* 1, 199, 6 proves that the word may indicate the attitude of an old-fashioned son to an old-fashioned father.¹ The objection to taking *n* in *wn hn n gr* as the preposition is that this obliterates the parallel to *wsh st nt hr* which follows.

1, 2. I cannot agree that *wsh st* refers to influence over others; on the contrary the sense is clearly that of untrammelled freedom of personal movement; so particularly in *Pt.* 225,² see too *Sin.* B 155.

1, 3. The evidence of the *Wb.* appears to confirm F.'s statement that *th mtn* is the opposite of *mdd mtn*, so that I now incline to take *th* actively and to understand *mtn* pregnantly, 'he who strays from (lit. transgresses) the (right) road'. But F.'s interpretation of what follows is unconvincing.

1, 6-7. The text from *tr* to *pr-sn* is of extreme difficulty. My own attempted rendering is partly disposed of by Gunn's discovery of the true meaning of *pr-sn*, see *JEA* 36, 112, top. I was also wrong in rendering *sw; tr* as 'time passes', since *tr* always signifies the right time, the fitting season, not time considered as a stretch; this objection holds too of F.'s '(allotted) time'.

1, 7-9. Little confident as I am in my own rendering of *hkf*, I find F.'s attempt to equate it with the late *hfi* still more improbable.

1, 9-10. Does F. here intend to contrast the eating of 'meat', 'flesh' with the eating of other food-stuffs? That seems a possible solution, but his statement is not clear.

1, 10. In dealing with *srh* F. overlooks the fact that the active sense 'reproaching' would have to be the fem. inf. *srht*, see *Wb.* IV, 199, top; for the sense attributed by me to the noun, see *ibid.* 7; Egyptian employs this word, just as English can employ 'reproach' and 'blame', of evil actions or habits that will incur the censure of others.

1, 11-12. I am certain that *im n* can never mean 'dear to', as F. suggests. Of the two passages quoted by him, p. 49, n. 11, the context of *Siu* 5, 13 admits of no decision, while *Urk.* 1, 199, 6 is quite decisive in favour of 'kind to', 'gentle to'; the writer has just said that he was deferential to his father, see above on 1, 1, and he goes on to say that he was kind, gentle, or considerate to his mother; in fact he is proclaiming his own virtues, not describing the attitude of his parents towards himself. The objection to F.'s rendering 'chide' or 'scold' for *kshs* is that those English words are

¹ It was, however, Davies and not myself who gave 'submissive' as the rendering in *Installation of the Vizier*, R 20.

² For this hitherto completely misunderstood passage I offer first a literal translation, and then a paraphrase giving the meaning as I see it: *If thou be in the gateway, stand up and sit down according to thy movements appointed thee the first day; pass not so that thy repulsing comes about; keen is the face of him who enters reported, wide the place of him who has been called*, i.e. 'If you are in the gateway of the Palace, conduct yourself in accordance with the behaviour prescribed on the day of your appointment; do not push forward lest you be repelled. The wise man enters only when his presence has been reported; when once a man has been called he can go ahead unimpeded.' *Wb.* II, 407, 13. 14 does not seem at all decided about the meaning to be attributed to the word in *Pt.* 220, which is certainly to be read *rwy* and connected with *rwt* (*Wb.* II, 404, 1). In *Pt.* 442 Prisse has *pr-nsw* where the London text has *rwy* and at least two other passages (*Urk.* IV, 967, 7; 973, 17) equate *rwy* with the palace. The picture conveyed to my mind is that of officials crowding at the entrance to the palace, and waiting their turn to be admitted.

transitive, while *khs* is always intransitive; also his interpretation (p. 50, n. 1) of *Peas. B 1, 213-14* is clearly perverse. On the other hand, I now agree that *r* in *r mwt-f* means 'than'. The sentence appears to corroborate 'no word can prevail against him'; despite F.'s suggestions, I can make nothing of *hrr n hr r dfr-ib*, but the sense of what follows must surely be that the constitutionally harsh man, who might be expected to be violently censorious, is more lenient to the man who has good table-manners than even the latter's own mother would be.

2, 2. I am unable to fit the rendering 'be discontented' into any of the passages where the verb *itn* occurs.

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The hieroglyph with the value *šps*

Wb. v, 243, 15.16 registers, as found in Dyns. XXI, XXII, a priestly title  and a woman's title  and reads these respectively *tj-šps* and *tjt-šps*. Of the masculine title I know nothing, but believe myself in a position to prove that the corresponding feminine has been wrongly read. In point of fact I have not come across any example of the latter group in which the final sign has exactly the form , and in one case at least where a photograph makes verification possible, the simple woman-determinative  is unmistakably substituted. This is on the inner coffin of the 'first great chief of the harem-women of Amen-Rē' Isimkheb, where the title immediately preceding the name is clearly written  . ¹ On another coffin of an Isimkheb with identical attributes—a coffin usurped by Neskhons—the same title, as printed by Daressy, is written  . ² It is well known that about this period the determinative for ladies of high birth takes various forms, one being even , which besides its phonetic value of *šps*, on occasion functions as determinative, whether for males or for females. That in the title here under discussion  or  or  (if the last-named actually occurs) is determinative is proved by the hieratic writing  , i.e. 'chief of the noble ladies', found with several high-priestesses of the same age³; it is inconceivable that in the hieroglyphic examples we should have to read *hry(t) ti-špswt* and in the hieratic ones *hry(t) špswt*. The obvious deduction is that in the hieroglyphic examples  has the value *šps*,⁴ a conclusion confirmed by the presence in the famous royal cache of a usurped coffin originally belonging to a woman named  , who, as Daressy recognized without commenting on the fact,⁵ must surely have been a namesake of the famous queen Hashepsowe.

But it is one thing to prove that  had in certain rare cases and for a limited period the value *šps*, and another thing to account for that value. I have two suggestions to make, both in my opinion equally improbable. There is a well-known tree  (var.    , as drug or fruit), which we probably rightly read *ti-špsy* (*Wb. v, 243, 5-14*); can this compound somehow have given rise to the belief that a reading of  was *šps*? Then there is the Old Kingdom title of queens   *tist Hr* (*Wb. v, 242, 11*), which is conjectured to have signified 'Companion of Horus', i.e. of the king⁶; can some later scribe have misinterpreted  to have been a writing of  *špst* 'noble lady'?

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¹ Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, pl. 52, middle, horizontal bands at top and centre, see too *ibid.*, pp. 164, 166 (D. prints correctly in the latter case, wrongly in the former).

² *Op. cit.* 112 (printed thus), 138 (printed with ). See too the Canopic jars of Neskhons published in type *Rec. trav.* 4, 80, and the fragment of a stela, *ibid.* 82.

³ In one of the three graffiti in the cache, Maspero, *Momies royales*, 520, fig. 2, l. 2 (Neskhons); *ibid.* 649 = *ZAS* 16, 29 (Book of the Dead of Nodjmet in the Louvre; on her coffin, Daressy, *op. cit.* 45, the hieroglyphic equivalent appears in the variant form   *hnt špswt* 'Mistress of the noble ladies'); Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. 2, l. 4 (Nebtnebishru).

⁴ So too, without comment, Budge, *op. cit.*, pp. x, xi.

⁵ Daressy, *op. cit.*, p. 243; two pages previously, however, he was still clinging to Maspero's old interpretation as Hât-thet (p. 241).

⁶ Junker argues in favour of the reading *ist Hr*, *Giza*, II, 190 f.

In the Tomb-robberies papyri frequent mention is made of a certain Pwer^o, a measurer in the House of Amūn, who was denounced by the herdsman Bukha^taf as one of his gang, but apparently never caught and brought to trial. In this he was luckier than several relatives of his, including two sons and a wife.¹ In P. Mayer A 3, 7-9² we read of an ergastulum-slave Amenkha^tu who 'was brought as a *tw* for' him, but subsequently released on the ground that he was only his wife's brother. What is the meaning of this word *tw*? Clearly not 'heir' as Peet suggested with a note of interrogation. Personally I have no doubt that it is closely akin to the well-known demotic feminine noun *tw*e for a 'pledge', 'surety', the writing of which Griffith transcribed³ as and which he rightly equated with the Coptic εγω, εογω⁴, αογω⁵ with precisely that meaning.⁶ Such a word for 'representative' is unknown in the earlier stages of Egyptian, unless it be found in the term applied to women in a number of Illahūn letters as well as in P. Anastasi VI, that obscurest of all Late-Egyptian miscellanies. Scharff, to whom we owe a valuable note on that term,⁷ tells us that it is regularly used in his Middle Kingdom examples of women who were the *tw*ryt of some official. One of the most striking features of the Pharaonic civilization was the confidence reposed in its womenfolk to carry on the work of their men during the absence or indisposition of the latter,⁸ and I think it much more probable that *tw*ryt in the passages alluded to will turn out to signify 'substitute' than that it will be found to possess some such colourless signification as *Arbeiterin*.

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My recent visit to Egypt has made me acquainted with two additional representations of this rite, both of some interest. The earlier is a much damaged scene in the temple of Medīnet Mādī, which takes back the age of this kind of picture to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty; Suchus stands to the right of the king, Anubis to his left, and the purificatory stream is one of *ankh*-signs.⁷ Suchus was the principal god of the place, but Anubis is also mentioned there at least twice.⁸ Why these divinities were substituted for the normal Horus and Thoth is not clear.

The other representation consists of a wonderfully restored group in the round, exhibited in Room U 12, Case W, of the Cairo Museum.⁹ Only tiny portions of the original alabaster remain, but these include the head of Horus, and the arm stretched out with a bowl on which the name of Amenophis II is inscribed. It was only when three *ankh*-signs of the purificatory stream were recovered and added to the other fragments that the nature of this small group (perhaps about 10 in. high) was recognized. It is obscure by what intuition or by whose instructions the ibis-head of Thoth was recognized by the restorer, since not a trace of it remains.

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¹ For references see Peet, *Great Tomb-robberies*, Text, p. 133, under A 27, B 1. 5.

² See *op. cit.*, pl. 24, for the necessary corrections to Peet's original transcription.

³ Rylands Papyri, III, 326. So too Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, II.

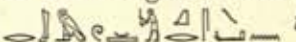
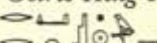
⁴ Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 62b. ⁵ ZÄS 59, 27. ⁶ See Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, *passim*.

⁷ A. Vogliano, *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi . . . di Madinet Mādī*, 24.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 25, see too 34, n. 11.

⁹ Journal Nos. 32411, 32523, 32674, provenance unknown. I am indebted to Abbas Bayourni, the Director of the Museum, for supplying me with these indications.

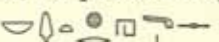
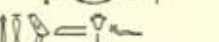
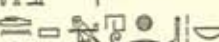
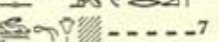
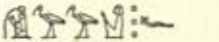
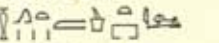
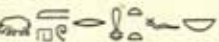
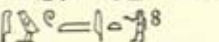
The benefit conferred by reburial

THE royal mummies of the Twenty-first Dynasty often bear hieratic dockets explaining how the king or certain high officials came to the Necropolis on the West Bank to give reburial to the great personage in question. The expression usually employed is  to repeat the burial of.¹ In three cases, however, use is made of an equivalent much stranger than has hitherto been realized. The formula employed being similar in all these examples, and the crucial word being identically written, it will suffice to quote one of the three. The docket written on the mummy-wrappings of Amosis I reads as follows: *Year 8, third month of winter, day 29, the Majesty of King . . . Pinodjem proceeded to give (the status of) Osiris to the Osiris King Nebpahtirē, l.p.h.*² The words here corresponding to *r whm krs n* above mentioned are  and the following epithet of the king is likewise written . The same spelling occurs on the two other examples of the phrase,³ rendering impossible Maspero's translation *pour donner une place au défunt roi Nebpehtirī*, a mistranslation retained by Breasted.⁴ All doubt is removed by the fact that the docket on the mummy-cloth of Ramesses III writes  for 'place' quite normally, while in the expression here discussed  is found. The employment of a title or similar attribute to denote the rank or status itself is well known and has often been illustrated.⁵

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Deux Nouveaux Exemples de l'expression *dnš mhwt*

A LA suite de la publication, dans l'avant-dernier volume du *Journal*, de mon article sur 'l'expression *dnš mhwt* des autobiographies égyptiennes' dans lequel j'avais réuni cinq exemples de ce cliché,⁶ H. de Meulenaere m'en a obligeamment signalé un sixième (Ex. α, ci-dessous), qui aurait dû figurer dans mon article puisqu'il était publié depuis 1948. Il en est de même d'un autre exemple encore, que j'ai trouvé entre temps, et dont la publication remonte à 1896. Voici, dans leur contexte immédiat, les deux exemples en question, qui datent l'un et l'autre de l'époque ptolémaïque. Dans le premier, l'expression s'applique exceptionnellement à une femme.

- (α)  possédant l'affection de son époux,
 grandement louée dans son cœur,
 réservée, dans ses propos, vis-à-vis de tout le monde,
 se réjouissant - - - -
- (β)  prêtre parfait, connaissant ses devoirs,
 marchant avec dignité dans le lieu saint,
 réservé dans ses propos plus que tous ses pareils,
 exempt de. . .

¹ Thus on the coffins of Amenophis I (Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, p. 8) and of Sethos I (op. cit., p. 30); also Th. M. Davis, *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, p. xxxiii, fig. 7; cf. too the variants *whm·f r krs* on the coffin of Ramesses II (Maspero, *Momies royales*, 560) and *r whm sm· n* on that of Tuthmosis II (op. cit. 546).

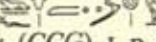
² Op. cit., 534.

³ Mummy-cloth of Ramesses III, op. cit. 564; of the prince Siamūn, op. cit., 538.

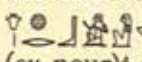
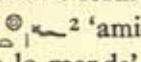
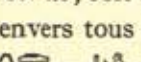
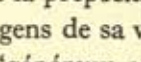
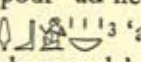
⁴ *Ancient Records*, IV, §§ 640, 645, 646.

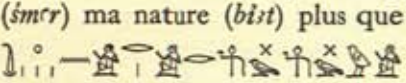
⁵ See, e.g., Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers*, 6, n. 12.

⁶ *JEA* 35, 38 ff. [P. 40 (c'), lire: ]; contrairement à ce que j'ai écrit p. 40, n. 6 (d'après *Wb.* I, 184, 15), *rm ib* ne signifie pas 'regretter': cf. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, I, p. 2, n. 1.]

⁷ Statuette de Ptolémaïs (Cyrénaïque) = Rowe, *Suppl. aux Ann. Serv.*, *Cahier No. 12*, p. 75 et pl. 14, 2; G. Pesce, *Il 'Palazzo delle Colonne' in Tolemaide di Cirenaica* (*Monografie di Archeologia Libica*, II—Rome, 1950), p. 74 (trad. de Botti) et fig. 87. Les signes  (Rowe: ) d'après la fig. (photographie) de Pesce, op. cit.; pour *wnf ib* au début d'une épithète laudative, cf.  'se réjouissant à voir ses concitoyens' Maspero, *Sarcoph. des époques persane et ptolém.* (CCG), I, p. 266 et pl. 20; var. *ibid.*, p. 223.

⁸ Athènes 2009 (statuette) = Mallet, *Rec. trav.* 18, 11.

Dans ces deux nouveaux exemples, *dnš mhw* est additionné d'un complément, ce qui n'était pas le cas dans les autres, où l'expression était employée isolément. Si le complément de l'Ex. β: *r mityf nb* 'plus que tous ses pareils', n'apporte rien qui aide à mieux comprendre le cliché, celui de l'Ex. α: *hr bw-nb* 'vis-à-vis (*litt.* auprès de, avec) tout le monde',¹ permet par contre d'en préciser un peu la signification—tout au moins la signification qu'on lui prêtait à la Basse Époque. Ces mots indiquent, en effet, que l'expression s'appliquait à une qualité sociale, à une façon de se comporter vis-à-vis de ses semblables, comme c'est le cas pour d'autres clichés biographiques où ils apparaissent également, soit sous cette même forme *hr bw-nb*, soit avec la préposition *n* 'à, pour' au lieu de *hr*:—² 'amical envers tous les gens de sa ville', ³ 'aimable à l'égard de (ou pour) tout le monde', ⁴ 'généreux pour tout le monde', ⁵ 'disant de bonnes paroles à tout le monde'. Avec l'acquis des autres exemples de *dnš mhw*, on est conduit vers une signification en relation avec la politesse ou même la 'diplomatie' du langage, quelque chose comme 'sachant garder en soi les propos qui pourraient offusquer ou fâcher autrui', 'ne se laissant pas aller à dire des mots choquants ou blessants'—à peu près ce qu'une biographie du Nouvel Empire exprime en ces termes: ⁶ 'impassible, choisissant ses propos'. C'est aussi vers la notion de discrétion, de réserve dans le langage, que nous mène, dans l'Ex. β, le parallélisme de *dnš mhw* avec *kb nmtt m bw dšr* 'marchant avec dignité, posément, dans le sanctuaire', cliché qui réfère également à la réserve, mais dans l'allure, dans la démarche, cette fois.

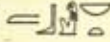
Il me semble que la qualité à laquelle s'applique l'expression *dnš mhw* est bien définie par le passage suivant, qui est emprunté à un texte de la XXII^e Dynastie:⁷ 'Khnoum m'a façonné (*nhp*) en homme sensé (*ih-ib*), intelligent (*zhy*), aux dispositions parfaites (*mnh zpw*), et il a avantage (*šmcr*) ma nature (*bist*) plus que celle de l'élite des gens; ⁸ il a 'piloté' ma langue vers la perfection: j'ai purifié ma bouche des médisances (?)⁹ qui m'auraient fait tort et ma mansuétude a fait que mes ennemis sont devenus mes proches amis; je savais contrôler ma bouche, de sorte que j'étais expert à répondre'.

J. J. CLÈRE

¹ Et non 'in every place in which he is' (Rowe), 'in qualunque luogo . . . in cui egli si trovi' (Botti), traductions amenées par la lecture *wnf + mh ib* au lieu de *wnf ib*.

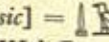
² Wreszinski, *Aeg. Inschr. in Wien*, p. 87.

³ Maspero et Gauthier, *Sarcoph. des époques persane et ptolém.* (CCG), II, p. 46 et pl. 14; var. *ibid.* p. 49 et pl. 15.

⁴ Les deux constructions étant possibles avec *imš ib* (cf. *Wb.* I, 79, 21-3), on peut lire ici *hr bw-nb* ( = *hr*: *Wb.* III, 315; Gunn, *JEA* 29, 57) ou *n bw-nb* avec *n* écrit *m* devant *b* ( = *m*: *Wb.* II, 1; Fairman, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 43, 63 et 71, et *Ann. Serv.* 43, 230; cf.  = *n bw-nb*, Maspero, *op. cit.* I, p. 223, dans une var. du cliché *pgi drit n bw-nb* cité ici).

⁵ Maspero, *op. cit.* I, p. 266 et pl. 20; var. *ibid.* p. 223; Maspero et Gauthier, *op. cit.* II, p. 7 et pl. 3, 1; Assiout, tombe III, l. 3; Budge, *Coll. Lady Meux*, p. 132 et pl. 11 (l. 15 du texte); Scheil, *Le tombeau d'Aba* (*Mém. Mis. fr.* v), pl. 6 (B, à dr., l. 5).

⁶ Budge, *op. cit.* p. 133 et pl. 11 (l. 20 du texte).

⁷  [sic] =  'Spruch' *Wb.* v, 521-2.

⁸ Naville, *The XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. 6, 1 et 8, E.

⁹ Borchart, *Statuen und Statuetten* (CCG), II, p. 106.

¹⁰ *Hd* 'préjudice, dommage' (*Wb.* III, 213, 17), de *hdi* 'léser, nuire, faire tort, &c.' (*Wb.* III, 212-13), peut signifier ici 'propos nuisibles, préjudiciables', mais peut-être aussi 'médisance, calomnie, &c.'—cf. l'acception 'verleumden u. ä.' signalée pour le verbe *Wb.* III, 213, 3.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions. By M. F. LAMING MACADAM. 2 vols. Text, pp. xvi and 142. Plates, pp. vi and 66 plates. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1949. Price £6. 6s. net.

Kawa (ancient Gematen), a considerable mound on the river bank more or less opposite Dongola, with its town site (badly damaged by *sebbakhin*) and cemeteries still probably has more to offer the excavator than any other ancient Egyptian site in the Sudan. This is the first part of the publication of the finds made in the temple area by the expedition of Oxford Excavations in Nubia under the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith in 1930-1. The inscriptions from stelae and other objects and graffiti not part of the original temple decorations are here adequately published by photographic reproduction, and copies—in most cases from squeezes and tracings—translation and notes. This part is to be followed by another covering the temples and other buildings, the objects found in them and the numerous temple reliefs. It will also contain the archaeological report of the second expedition made in 1935-6 under Mr. L. P. Kirwan.

The book is divided into two sections (A) Egyptian inscriptions, pp. 1-92, and (B) Meroitic and other inscriptions, pp. 93-118; and there is an Introduction summarizing the results of studying the inscriptions found. There is also an important appendix on the relationships of the Ethiopian royal family. Incidentally it is a pity that Dr. Macadam has not followed Dows Dunham in dropping the name 'Ethiopian' for this dynasty in favour of their own name of 'Kush', thereby avoiding confusion with modern Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in the minds of African students.

The inscriptions found are very important for the history of Dyn. XXV and of its successors in the land of Kush. Study of the stelae of Taharqa shows (see the Appendix) that it is the practice of adoption which has made it difficult hitherto to unravel the family relationships of the dynasty, and which probably gave rise to the importance of the Candace or 'King's Mother', which this well-known title appears to mean. Brother-sister marriage seems to have been the rule rather than the exception, and the piety of chief Alara (seen presumably to be a predecessor of Kashta) towards Amūn is mentioned more than once. To the reviewer both these facts make it all the more probable that Alara and Kashta were hereditary egyptianized chiefs of Kush (possibly descended from the chiefs of Kerma) and not immigrant Libyans.

His inscriptions reveal that Taharqa was born in 709/8 B.C. and was a younger brother of Shebitku, with whom he was associated on the throne, but whom he did not murder (Manetho). Taharqa first went to Egypt at the age of twenty and so cannot have fought Sennacherib in Palestine (2 Kings xix, 9). Duplicates fill gaps in the Tanis stela and the account of the exceptionally high Nile. It was Taharqa who seems to have first made Gematen a place of importance, although Middle Kingdom statues suggest that it was in existence at the time of neighbouring Kerma, and objects of Amenophis III that it was he who gave it its name. No trace of Akhenaten was found, but Tutankhamūn built Temple A, on which Ramesside and other officials left records. Taharqa reclaimed Gematen from sand-drifts, built a large temple, equipped it magnificently, and planted vines. On one of the two stelae recording his gifts Amen-Rē is represented as literally 'inside the Sacred Mountain', suggesting that there may still be an undiscovered shrine cut by Taharqa into Gebel Barkal behind the four colossi reported in *Illustrated London News* of February 15, 1947.

A stela of Anlamani (623-593 B.C.), the only historical inscription from his reign, records a royal visit to Kawa and an expedition against Belhe (presumably Beja) who had been raiding it.

The great inscription of Amani-nete-yerike (c. 418-398 B.C.) cut on the wall of Taharqa's temple in debased Egyptian hieroglyphs is the first after Aspelta (d. c. 568 B.C.). It confirms that Meroe had been for some time the royal residence, and records more raids (presumably by Beja), the royal visit to Napata (for the coronation) and then to Kawa and Pnubs (reasonably identified as Argo). At Kawa the temple was again cleared of sand-drifts. Sand has once more buried the temple ruins since 1936, hiding the scars caused by the removal of scenes and inscriptions destined for the national museum at Khartūm, which seems no nearer realization now than then.

Stelae and other inscriptions of four hitherto unknown kings, Ary who built a temple there, possibly the latest of which the ruins still exist, Amansabrak, Piankh-yerike-qa and Arnekh-amani, may represent the kings of the first independent Meroitic kingdom of Napata, whose pyramids are at Barkal.

The Meroitic inscriptions consist mostly of graffiti. Historically important is a bronze altar of Queen Amanirenas, found in the debris of the fire presumably caused by Petronius in c. 23 B.C., which shows that the second independent kingdom of Napata had come to an end before the Roman invasion, for her monuments have been found from Dakka to Meroe.

One can but regret that the Griffiths did not live to see the appearance of this fine book, of which the author, the Griffith Institute, and the Oxford University Press may all well feel proud. It is to be hoped that *The Temples of Kawa II* will appear soon and maintain the high standard of Part I.

A. J. ARKELL

The Calendars of Ancient Egypt. By RICHARD A. PARKER. (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 26.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1950.

Pp. xiii+83, figs. 21, pls. 6. \$6.00.

In this brief but decidedly difficult book Professor Parker sets forth the results of his investigations in the field of Egyptian time-reckoning, a province of our study which has occupied many a scholar and evoked varying theories. Realizing that no system of time-reckoning can be adequately comprehended without a grasp of some basic astronomical and calendrical facts which owing to their rather specialized character are not always clear, if at all present, in the mind of the uninitiated student, Professor Parker begins, Plato-like, by defining such technical terms and essential concepts as will constantly be needed in the discussion ensuing. The ground thus prepared, the main narrative is free to flow as smoothly as the complex nature of the topic allows.

Ancient Egypt had three calendars. They were introduced successively but not to the exclusion of one another, so that the time came when there were three different calendars at work, and they remained in simultaneous use down to the close of pagan Egypt. The earliest calendar was formulated sometime in the fifth or fourth millennium, after the recognition that the event the Egyptians called *wꜥ rnpt* ('Opener of the Year'), and which we now term the heliacal rising of Sirius or Sothis, was the herald of the inundation. It was a lunar calendar which would normally comprise twelve lunar months divided into three seasons of four months each. Unlike most chronologers Professor Parker upholds the view that the Egyptian lunar month began with the moon's invisibility, viz. on that morning when the old crescent could no longer be seen. *Tpy rnpt*, the first day of the original lunar year, was the first day of invisibility of the moon before sunrise following Sothis's heliacal reappearance in the eastern horizon: thus *wꜥ rnpt* did not actually open the year but rather marked the end of it; the feast of *wꜥ rnpt* fell in the last month of the year and was its eponym. An intercalary month dedicated to Thoth and placed at the head of the year was resorted to biennially, less often triennially, in order to obviate the shortcomings of the lunar year which was as a rule but 354 days long. This device proved in course of time insufficient for the ever-growing requirements of economy and administration, and to meet such practical needs a new calendar was introduced in the thirtieth, or perhaps the twenty-ninth, century. It was based on a schematic or averaged lunar year of 365 days and was not tied to Sothis but to an unknown variable annual occurrence. After the pattern of the original lunar year the schematic year was divided into three seasons of four months each; only the months of the newly created calendar were all of uniform length, namely thirty days. Five epagomenal or 'added' days headed the year even as the intercalary month of Thoth did the original lunar year whenever it occurred. The old calendar was kept as a fundamentally religious and sacerdotal year for the regulation of feasts and temple services whilst all secular matters were thenceforward reckoned by the schematic lunar, or civil, year. This dual arrangement was found workable for a considerable length of time; yet after about two centuries these two calendars had drifted so far apart from each other that the need for a new readjustment became urgent and resulted in the adoption of yet another calendar. Professor Parker would suggest roughly 2500 B.C. as the date when the third Egyptian calendar was instituted, and he tells us that 'the months of this new lunar year were to be so regulated that they would maintain their general agreement with their schematic equivalents. In this fashion the original lunar calendar and the civil calendar, the dual year, would be free to progress forward through the seasons.'

Of particular interest is the author's interpretation of certain names of days of the month based on philological and astronomical considerations, as well as his treatment of month names in the lunar and civil calendars. There is also an excellent analysis of the lunar calendar of Papyrus Carlsberg 9 and a new transliteration and translation of the Cairo Demotic Papyrus 30801. The often-discussed Ebers calendar is transcribed afresh and commented upon. The significance of the Karnak water clock of Amenophis III, the astronomical ceiling of the Ramesseum, that in the tomb of Senenmüt, and sundry other monuments bearing on Egyptian time-reckoning, is expounded with rare insight. The dissertation on the calendars proper is followed by three excursions dealing, respectively, with the transfer of feasts from the lunar to the civil calendar, the meaning of *tpy rnpt* and the chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Professor Parker's highly technical work does not make easy reading. But though the book demands, it will vastly repay, close study. It is a permanent contribution to an exceedingly important department of our science, the fruit of painstaking research, based on extensive and thorough knowledge, and displaying everywhere the author's most penetrating *esprit critique*.

It seems rather a pity that those responsible for the general 'get-up' of the volume should not have bestowed upon it all the care that so invaluable a piece of research deserves. There is no index, and the relegation of the critical notes to the end of the book is unaccommodating in the extreme. The margins are uncomfortably narrow for a large 4° format, and the uneven ending of the lines lends the pages a none too pleasant look. Miss Susan T. Richert's drawings are, in happy contrast, remarkably good indeed.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian. By CAMPBELL BONNER. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press and London, Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. 334, 25 plates. 100s.

This handsome volume is No. 49 of the University of Michigan's Humanistic Series, and, as might be expected from its author, is an important contribution to a difficult and obscure branch of scholarship. That amulets were commonly used in antiquity, especially late antiquity, is well enough known, but vague and inaccurate language has too frequently been used in speaking of them. There is, for example, a tendency to refer to them as Gnostic, which the author abundantly shows to be quite unjustified; they do indeed for the most part belong to the times in which Gnosticism flourished and the figures and inscriptions on them spring from the type of thought which produced that and kindred systems, all alike betraying a strong appetite for the marvellous and mysterious and an abandonment of the rational thought characteristic of the best ages of Greece; but there is little on the amulets known to us which is characteristic of the teaching of any of the Gnostics proper, much which is simply syncretistic, a good deal which is definitely Egyptian, and not a little which needs further research into its origins. Professor Bonner has studied literally thousands of the inscribed gems surviving in modern collections, has illustrated and described 398 of them and given references to many more, and in a series of chapters thoroughly scientific in contents and at the same time readable and admirably clear has classified them and, so far as can be done in our present state of knowledge, has interpreted them. Like all good books, his will furnish material for further inquiries and research, and also will long serve as a storehouse of learning for any who are interested in the complicated history of magic and the vagaries of degenerate religion.

The introductory chapter gives an excellent conspectus of the whole subject, incidentally disposing of the misuse of the word 'Gnostic', as already mentioned. Chapter II treats of 'national elements and influences', Egyptian, Jewish, Persian, and Greek. The author now passes to the purposes which the amulets were meant to serve, 'general protection and benefit' (Chapter III), 'medical magic' (Chapters IV-VI), protection against 'unseen perils' (Chapter VII), and 'aggressive magic' (Chapter VIII). Then come discussions of some of the more prominent iconographic types found on these gems. Chapter IX deals with one of the strangest, 'the snake-legged god with the cock's head', Chapter X with 'the young sun', Chapter XI with an allied subject, 'Helios and solar types', and chapter XII with 'pantheistic and monstrous forms'. Chapters XIII and XIV examine the inscriptions, the former dealing with the more or less intelligible ones, the latter with those classed as 'cryptic' and shedding such light as can be thrown upon the strange mixtures of foreign words and sheer meaningless jargon which compose these. Chapter XV handles Palestinian, Syrian, and Christian amulets, while Chapter XVI devotes its twenty pages to 'unusual, obscure, and problematical types', sometimes offering good solutions of the difficulties, sometimes frankly confessing

inability to explain them. The verbal descriptions of selected amulets then follow, and between this section and the plates is inserted a useful set of indexes. The book is thus very easy to consult, especially as the printer has done his difficult work well.

To go into all or even a representative selection of the problems involved would need a treatise, not a review, and call for more specialist knowledge than the reviewer possesses. There is nothing very startling in the general conclusions; we knew, for instance, that Egypt, Greece, and Persia all contributed much, directly or indirectly, to the development of the learned professional magic to which the amulets belong, and that Jewish sources, real or alleged, were freely used, names of power especially being often Hebrew or pseudo-Hebrew. Some of the classifications of amulets are very interesting, for instance, the long series of what the author calls 'digestive' amulets, pp. 51-66 and the important group which fills Chapter VI. This class is intended to counteract diseases of women, and one of the most characteristic designs is an object which the author, probably rightly, interprets as a conventionalized uterus.

Among the many puzzles still left after this painstaking and acute investigation are several which will be of interest especially to Egyptologists, both in connexion with the iconography and with the not infrequent Coptic words which occur in the inscriptions. But if ever some of the more complex figures are explained, the net must be cast wider and the extraordinary fantasies of Oriental art (not Persian only) put under contribution to give at least an idea of the genesis of sundry recurrent monsters.

H. J. ROSE

Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 69201-69852, Instruments of Music.

By HANS HICKMANN. Cairo, Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1949. pp. iv+216. pl. 116. fol.

The appearance of a new rational catalogue of musical instruments is always a major event. The privilege of welcoming this latest comer to the noble lineage of such publications invokes a rare nostalgia. The grand manner, we had supposed, was extinct, yet here is a work which ranks with the best of its kind in all details of production and surpasses most in the scientific and detailed treatment of its material. Musical antiquity cannot often have been so handsomely served.

Dr. Hickmann's previous studies of ancient Egyptian music and instruments, published in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, have fully demonstrated his unique qualification for his present task. Too often the musicologist is divorced from other branches of learning. Here he combines with the Egyptologist, with most valuable and happy results. The catalogue is the first systematic study of ancient Egyptian instruments based on modern principles of organology, within the framework of which Dr. Hickmann's lucid expositions of technological and functional detail are new and indispensable. It is now possible to study the dimensions and structure of these instruments fully and to some purpose, aided by expertly posed and beautifully reproduced plates and innumerable text diagrams.

The occidental scholar is naturally more attracted by instruments intended to produce specific musical sounds than by the far more numerous classes of mere noise-makers, however important these may be in their context. Such instruments challenge the imagination both by their technical complexity and by the far greater human element which must have gone into the playing of them. Stringed and wind instruments make use of physical facts which are implicit not in their materials but their form. The way in which the early craftsman tackled his problems and used his data must ever remain a fascinating study. With this profession of partiality, a few of the instruments which strike a reviewer's eye may perhaps be discussed.

The Long Lute, apparently the only 'necked' instrument of Egyptian antiquity, is a curiously rudimentary type in that the body plays no direct part in amplifying the tone. That is to say, it sustains none of the stress imposed by the strings, and does not receive their vibrations through a bridge resting on or attached to its table or soundboard. The bridge is combined with a string holder at the lower end of the central spar which also forms the neck. This spar passes down the length of the body, being threaded under and over through slits cut in the skin 'soundboard', the straps thus formed being apparently the only means whereby the body is attached. Sachs (*History of Musical Instruments*, p. 102) classifies the instrument only by its having a 'handle ending within the body' and specifies cross-bars therein for its support. He also describes a triangular or circular opening in the skin table through which the ends of the strings pass, but it is clear from the two lutes shown in the catalogue that this object is none other than the adze-shaped string holder itself, which in any case rises clear of the table.

An interesting and well-represented instrument is the arched shoulder harp. Five of the seven more-or-less complete specimens at Cairo are so similar in construction that they invite general conclusions. The one-piece body and 'comb' are probably familiar enough, but a curious detail is the method of fixing the *Baguette de Suspension*, bridge or hitch-rail which forms the lower anchorage of the strings. This is 'stepped-in' rather like the bowsprit of a sailing-vessel, the pointed upper end fitting into a socket inside the body below the shoulders, while the other is tied to a 'button' formed at the lower end of the instrument. This arrangement suggests the quick removal of the rail for the adjustment of string-tensions, for the pull required to re-tie the lower end to the button would be slight owing to the oblique angle which the strings make with the rail. Moreover, although one tends to expect it, no trace appears on any of these five instruments of a soundboard of any description, nor does Dr. Hickmann broach the question. A skin or wooden table would be difficult to fit owing to the different levels of the rail at either end of the body, and in fact such a feature would hinder the mode of string adjustment which seems to be implied by the arrangement mentioned above. These instruments may therefore have had open-fronted resonators, similar to that of the *Schalenzither* (Norlind, *Systematik der Saiteninstrumente*, 1, 143 ff.).

The Egyptian arched harps appear to comprise two other categories besides that already discussed; a larger variety played with the end resting on the ground, having a shallow spade-shaped resonator, a regular soundboard and an external hitch-rail; and the curious *festonné* type represented by Cairo 69403 and a specimen at Berlin. These have deep oval bodies covered with skin and a peculiarly crooked neck which springs from the bottom of the body. The hitchpins for the strings are not at its top end but halfway along, and it is difficult to see how these instruments were strung and played, since, as they now stand, none of the strings would have cleared the top edge of the body nearest the neck.

Space allows no further development of the many ideas stimulated by the use of this catalogue. It fulfils its purpose completely and definitively, and is the model of what should be done for any large holding of similar material in other parts of the world. In other words: other museums please copy.

ERIC HALFPENNY

Rameside Administrative Documents. By SIR ALAN GARDINER. Pp. xxiv+101+83a. Published on behalf of the Griffith Institute by Geoffrey Cumberlege. London, Oxford University Press, 1948. 21s.

In this book, the review of which is regrettably very belated, Sir Alan Gardiner has collected twenty-six hieratic documents of Rameside date which in one way or another relate to public administration. The impulse towards making this collection, as he tells us in his Preface, originated in a desire to make accessible for study material which might shed some light on the problems of the great Wilbour papyrus published by him, a papyrus which is itself by far the largest and most important administrative document surviving from Ancient Egypt, but which poses questions to which as yet no really satisfactory answer has been forthcoming. But the author has not confined himself to the strictly limited objective of supplementing the Wilbour papyrus; to our good fortune he has included a number of other papyri of an administrative nature which hitherto have not been readily accessible to the student, such as the Turin Indictment and Strike papyri. Translations of many of the texts here published have appeared in this *Journal* and elsewhere, and references to previous studies will be found in the Introduction, where each individual document is described.

It is a matter for gratitude that Sir Alan and the Griffith Institute decided in this publication to follow the model of the well-known *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* set on foot by the late Jean Capart. The student thus has the transcribed text and the critical notes made available to him in a handy format and at a low cost, and use of the book is greatly facilitated by Professor Černý's admirable autograph hand. Indexes of Names of Persons; Titles and Occupations; Places, Regions, Countries; Temples, Cult-places and Cult-objects and of the Main Contents of the Notes round off an invaluable piece of work.

R. O. FAULKNER

A Coptic Bibliography. Compiled by WINIFRED KAMMERER with the collaboration of ELINOR MULLETT HUSSELMAN and LOUISE A. SHIER. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950. Price \$2.00 (paper); \$3.00 (cloth).

The publication of a book of this nature was long overdue and this bibliography should be a great help to anyone working on Coptic or cognate subjects. The bibliography is intended to include all works until the end of 1948. It is limited to publications of Coptic texts, and to books and articles on Coptic philology, history, religion, and art, and the following subjects have generally been excluded: articles in which Coptic is used only to clarify Egyptian or Greek, parallels to Coptic texts in other languages, historical material on Christian Egypt when it concerns Greek or Roman administration and a few others.

It may be open to question whether this selection is the most satisfactory that could have been made, but at any rate it is only reasonable to expect completeness in those subjects which have been included and that unfortunately is by no means the case. It is impossible here to give a list of books and articles that were overlooked by the compilers and I can only mention a few important items under the various headings as examples.

There appears to be no system whereby some critical reviews are listed and others are not. There are many which certainly ought to have been included; e.g.:

G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament* (Sahidic), is subject to an important study by A. Hebbelynck in a review of the book in *Le Muséon*, 38, 159-69. Hebbelynck cites considerable material not utilized by Horner and makes some valuable comments.

A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment* is reviewed by C. Schmidt in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1900, 481 ff., with important comments.

W. E. Crum, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden aus Djēme*, is reviewed by C. Schmidt in *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.* 1914, 332, with a collation of two of the texts in Berlin. This is particularly valuable now as the texts in question were lost at the end of the war.

These, like many others (I have collected over 150), appeared in well-known periodicals and most of them were cited in previous bibliographies, e.g. De Lacy O'Leary, *Bibliography, Christian Egypt* in this *Journal*, vols. 8-26.

A few publications of Coptic texts have been overlooked though most of them are those published during 1946-8, e.g.:

E. Revillout, *Un Nouveau Papyrus copte du monastère de Saint Jérémie de Memphis* in *Revue Orientale et Americaine* (Paris, 1877).

A. van Lantschoot, *Fragments coptes d'une Homélie de Jean de Parallalos contre les livres hérétiques* in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 1 (Studi e Testi 121, Rome, 1946), 296 ff.

J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends* (Cairo, 1947).

A number of Russian publications have also been omitted. Most of these are listed in a Russian bibliography which, unfortunately, did not come to the notice of the compilers: A. Kotsiovskij in *Christianskij Vostok*, vol. 4, part II (1916), pp. 200 ff., being a bibliography of Coptica 1912-15.

As regards books and articles dealing with Coptic texts there are very serious omissions; this is particularly true of books on the Coptic Versions of the Bible, but also in almost every section of Coptic studies, e.g.:

F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, part 1, *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. III: The text of Acts by J. H. Ropes (Macmillan, 1926). This contains a very detailed discussion on the text of the Sahidic and Bohairic Versions of Acts in Appendixes IV and V and pp. cxlii ff., based on evidence brought by Sir Herbert Thompson.

W. E. Crum, *Pistis Sophia* in *JRAS* 1925, 757 ff.

H. J. Polotsky, *Abriß des manichäischen System* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband (Stuttgart, 1934), 241 ff.

H. Buchthal and Kurz, *Handlist of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts* (London, The Warburg Institute, 1942). This cites 223 Coptic manuscripts and has an admirable bibliography. Nearly half of the works cited there are not included in Mrs. Kammerer's book.

For the arrangement of the book the compilers could have found a useful guide in the excellent study: *Littérature Copte* by De Lacy O'Leary in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. IX, part II, pp. 1599 ff. Particularly as regards early Christian literature, martyrdoms, and lives of saints no

attempt has been made to collect all the available material from the various catalogues, etc., for any particular story. Sometimes collections (e.g. the Morgan Collection) have been cited for each life of a saint, etc., but mostly this is not the case (e.g. Till, *Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden*). Anyone using this part of the bibliography will find it most misleading. I need only cite the list given for Shenoute (pp. 65 f.). There are merely three references to works other than those containing only Shenoute: two are short articles and the third is Morgan, vol. 54, which is wrongly ascribed to Shenoute as is shown by the style. We look in vain for references to Crum's catalogues, Zoega, Pleyte-Boeser, Wessely, Munier, etc., all of which contain a considerable amount of text from the works of Shenoute. De Lacy O'Leary's *Littérature Copte* may now serve as a useful, though incomplete, supplement to Mrs. Kammerer's bibliography.

It is difficult to understand why Crum's *Short Texts*, *Coptic Manuscripts*, and *Varia Coptica* are listed under the heading 'Coptic Texts, Collections' (Nos. 718, 719, 721) whereas Crum's *Coptic Ostraca* and *Wadi Sarga* are listed under 'Coptic Texts, Documents and Letters' (Nos. 1993 and 2002).

Hardly any attempt has been made to indicate whether a text had previously been published, thus, for example, Nos. 1990, 2029, 2031, 2034, 2041, 2043 (one text only), 2046 (except the last eight), 2049, 2050, 2052, 2057, 2058, 2069, 2078, 2081, and 2082 were all published or republished in Crum, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden aus Djēme*.

There are a few inaccuracies in the book of which two may be noted here: No. 1330 (Sobhy, *Le Martyre de Saint Hélias*) is the publication of a Cairo Hamouli manuscript which was included in the photographic Morgan series (vol. 45) and the note 'see also 726 (vol. 45)' should be altered accordingly; similarly, in the case of Nos. 1345, 1369, and 1397. Nos. 981 and 984 are two independent publications of the same manuscript (B.M. Or. 6948) containing Acts vii and ix in Fayyumic. The text was republished by Till, *Koptische Chrestomathie für den fayumischen Dialekt* and Gaselee in his review of Till's book made a few corrections (*Bull. Sch. Or. Afr. Stud.*, 6, 257 ff.).

The bibliography is certainly a most useful work and it is thus particularly unfortunate that the arrangement is unsatisfactory and that so much material was overlooked. A supplement to the book with the additional material would hardly be practicable. The best solution is undoubtedly a second edition in which the deficiencies could be rectified.

P. E. KAHLE



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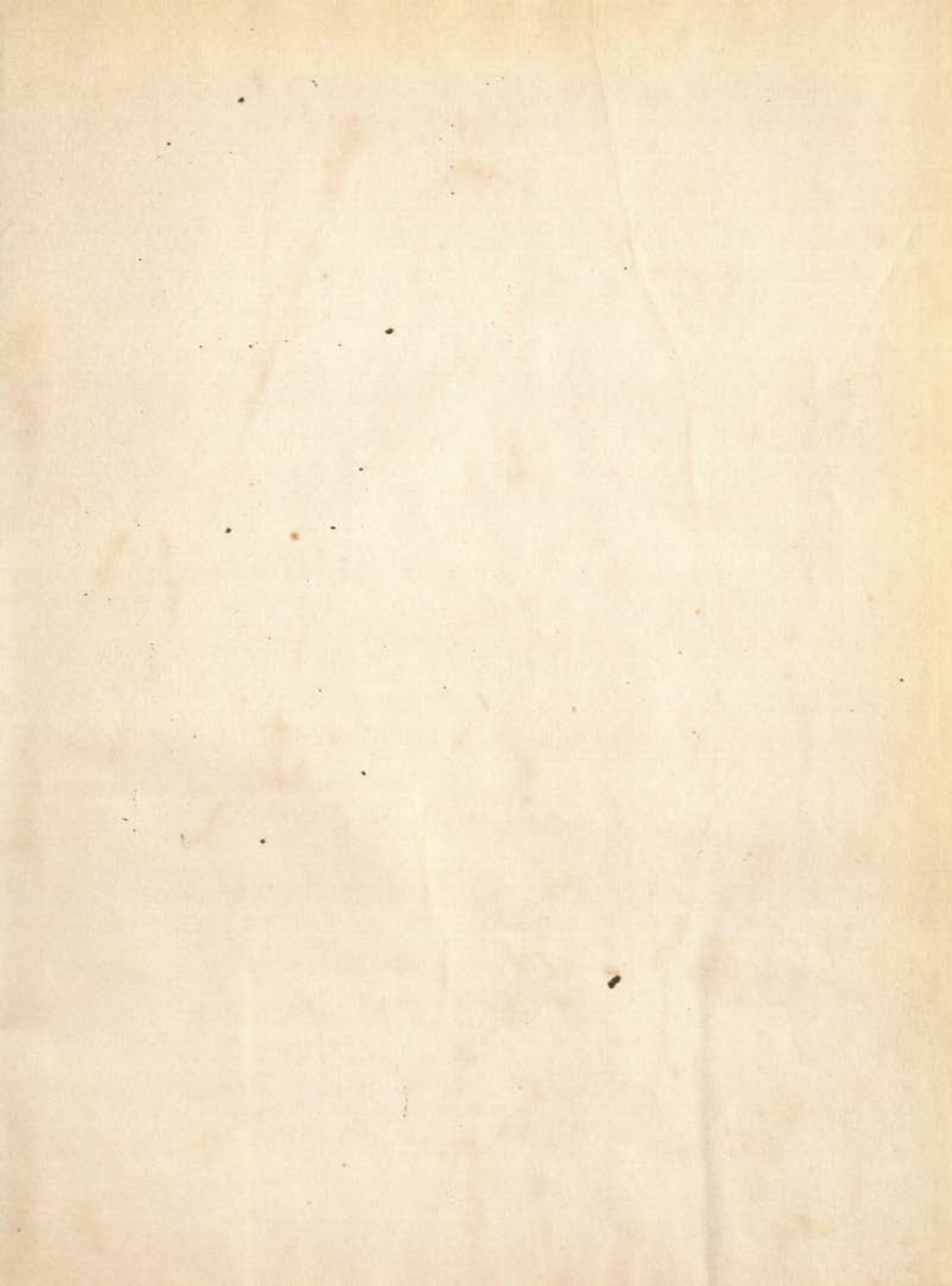
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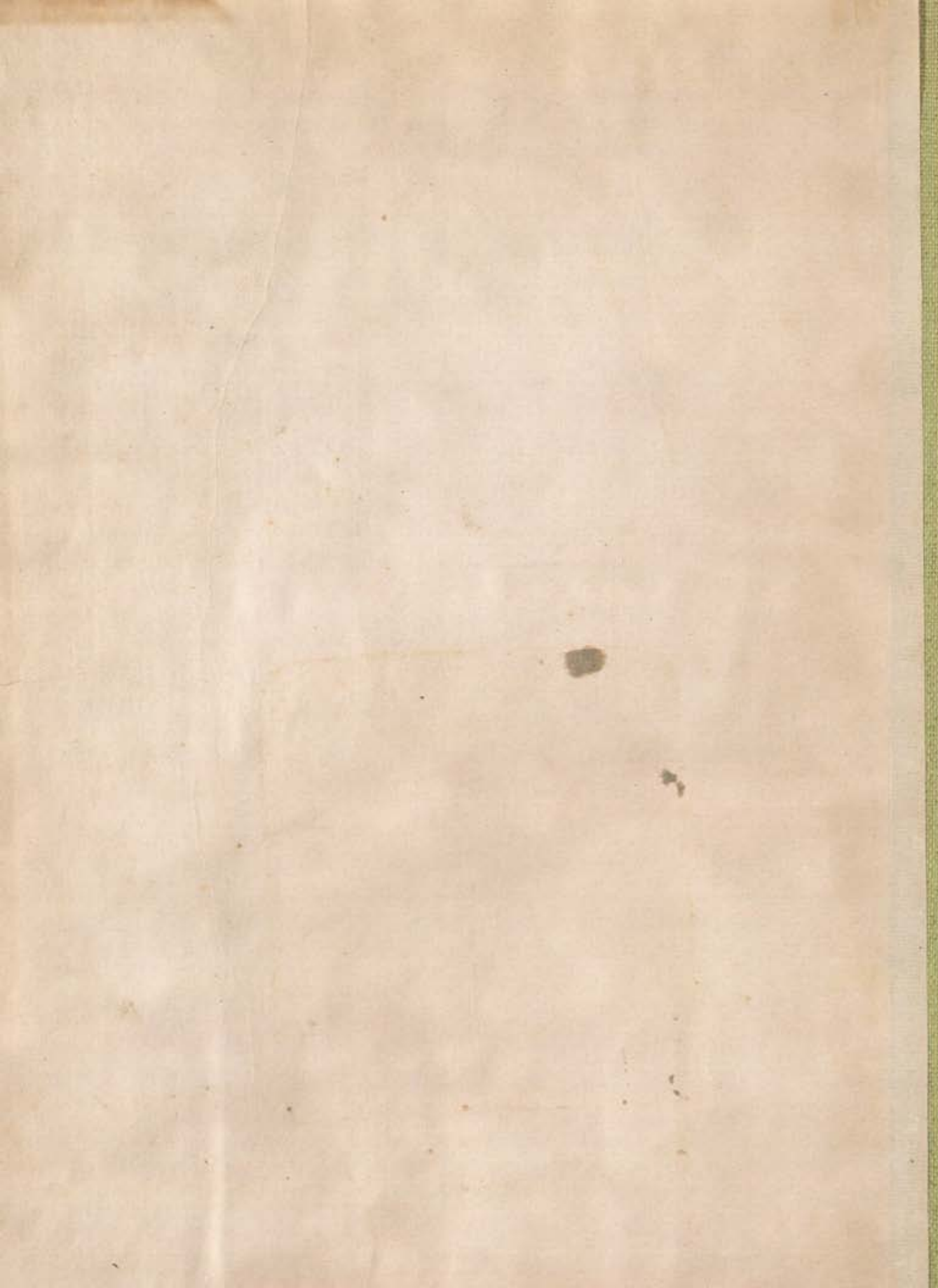
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